



Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-001
Monday
4 January 1988

Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-001

CONTENTS

January 1988

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

General Staff 'Expert' on Hopes To Ban CW's	1
---	---

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

'Top Priority' Program Examines Disarmament [V. Pozner, R. Bogdanov, S. Plekhanov]	2
Weekly 'International Observers Roundtable' [Agayants, Kuznetsov, Sobolov]	5

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Reagan's New Year's Address to Soviet People [IZVESTIYA 2 Jan]	10
Gorbachev's New Year's Address to American People	10
U.S. Media Coverage Noted	11
CNN Carries Address Live	11
NBC Shows 'Full Text'	11
'Changing' Climate in USSR-U.S. Ties Viewed [S. Kondrashov in IZVESTIYA 1 Jan]	12

China

U.S. Nuclear Expansion in Japan Seen as Danger [Alekseyev]	14
Bilateral Relations Viewed 'With Satisfaction' [Ivanov]	14
Bilateral Relations in Past Year Reviewed [Kemikemiyev]	15
Amity Group Leader's New Year Message	15

Northeast Asia

CPSU Resolution on Soviet-MPR Enterprises	16
Japanese Premier Fully Supports U.S. Policies	16
Okinawa Demonstrators Protest 'Security Treaty'	16
Japanese Businessman Interviewed on USSR Trade	17
ROK Opposition Leader Calls for 'Alliance'	17
USSR Journalist Relates Visit to Korea's DMZ [Mezentsev in SELSKAYA ZHIZN 22 Dec]	18

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Ties With SRV in 1987, Chebrikov Visit Viewed	19
SRV Premier Greeted Workers of Joint Project	20
Chairman of Nationalities Receives SRV Envoy [Hanoi VNA]	20
Philippine Elections Accompanied by Violence	20

Near East & South Asia

U.S. Secretary of Defense Departs on Gulf Tour	21
Shevardnadze Departs for Afghanistan 4 Jan	21
Embassy Receives Petition Protesting Afghan War [Stockholm]	21
Further on Afghan Fighting for Khowst Road	21
TV Reports Fighting	21
'Siege' Lifted on Khowst	22
'Minimal Losses' Sustained	24
Fighting Ends, Convoy Arrives [Shkirando]	25
Fifth Convoy Arrives in Khowst	25

Afghans Continue Investigating Arrested German	26
TASS Sees U.S. 'Drawn Into' Afghanistan [Ponomarev]	26
Commentary on Foreign Aid to Afghan Rebels [V. Kozyakov]	26
Afghans Protest Pakistani Border 'Violations'	27
Brutents, Syria's Khaddam Hold Damascus Talks	27
Brutents Briefs Egyptian Leaders on Summit	27
PLO Envoy Gives Statement on Anniversary	28
Moscow Meeting Voices Solidarity With PLO [IZVESTIYA 26 Dec]	28
IZVESTIYA Calls for End to Gulf 'Piracy' [V. Shevchenko, 31 Dec]	29
Correspondent Reports From Gulf Destroyer [Turchenko in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 24 Dec]	29

East Europe

CSSR's Jakes To Visit Within Next Few Days	30
Romanian GNA Marks Jubilee of Republic [IZVESTIYA 26 Dec]	30
GDR, Hungary To Participate in Seoul Olympics	31
Travel Procedures to Hungary, GDR, CSSR Changed	31
Talyzin, Poland's Sadowski Discuss Planning [PAP]	31
Culture Delegation Visits Poland 16-22 Dec [PRAVDA 23 Dec]	31
Yakovlev Receives Bulgarian Media Official	32
SRV Foreign Minister Ends Albania Visit [IZVESTIYA 29 Dec]	32
Albanian Leaders Attend Armed Forces Seminar [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 23 Dec]	32
Joint Enterprise Documents Signed With SFRY [TANJUG]	32
CPSU CC Receives Thanks From SFRY	32
Briefs	33
New USSR-Bulgarian Association	33
Sports Protocol Signed	33

West Europe

Finland's Holkeri Meets Solovyev, Gives Speech [PRAVDA 31 Dec]	33
Departs Leningrad 31 Dec	35
Finnish President Cited on INF Treaty	35
UK 'Covered Up' Nuclear Plant Accident in '50's	35
Notes Exchanged With Netherlands on Inspections [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 22 Dec]	35
FRG's H.-J. Vogel Interviewed on INF Treaty [PRAVDA 24 Dec]	35
FRG Confirms More Ships Bound for Mediterranean	36
Spanish Radio Awards Prize to Gorbachev	36
TASS Cites Italy's Andreotti on INF Treaty	37
Kiselev Views Expansion of Trade With Turkey [Istanbul MILLIYET 28 Dec]	37
Briefs	37
Protocol With Italian Company	37

Latin America & Caribbean

Cuban Envoy Aguilera Speaks on National Day	37
Cuban Cosmonaut Notes Value of Space Missions	38
Ultrarightists Blamed for Deaths in Jonestown [PRAVDA 18 Nov 87]	38

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Gorbachev New Year Message to Nation [PRAVDA 1 Jan]	40
Central Committee Economic Education Conference [PRAVDA 19 Dec]	41
Presidium Reviews Deputies' 1987 Activities [PRAVDA 26 Dec]	42
Ukraine Commemorates Anniversary of Soviet Rule [Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA 26 Dec]	44
'Independent' Rights Seminar Held in Moscow [DAGENS NYHETER 17 Dec]	45
First Unit of New Nuclear Power Plant Started	46
IZVESTIYA Reviews 21 Dec Legal Conference [22 Dec]	46
Struggle Against Nonlabor Incomes Discussed	47

State Acceptance Service Copes With Faulty Goods	47
Traders' Attempts To Cheat Public Criticized	47
Perestroyka's Impact on Political Economy Viewed [<i>Pletnev in PRAVDA 18 Dec</i>]	48
Azerbaijan Prosecutors Falsely Accuse Expert [<i>PRAVDA 2 Jan</i>]	51
'Pamyat' Beliefs Likened to Those of Nazism [<i>Losoto in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 19 Dec</i>] ..	53
Television 'Democratizing Instrument' in Society	58
Magazine Poetry Chief Welcomes Emigre's Success [<i>MOSCOW NEWS No 47</i>]	58
Artists' Union Board Meeting Reported	59
Lags Behind in Restructuring	59
Writers Union Helps 'Internationalist Servicemen'	59
Reevaluation of Komsomol's History Urged [<i>Galagan in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 22 Dec</i>] ..	60
Book Banned in 1961, Now Published, Mentioned	63

Economic

IZVESTIYA Editorial Views Economic Reform	63
Stroganov Interviewed on Gosplan Restructuring	65
PRAVDA Reports on Population's Savings [<i>25 Dec</i>]	65

Agricultural

'Critical' Seed Supply Situation Viewed [<i>Gavrichkin in IZVESTIYA 24 Dec</i>]	65
Early December Weather, Crop Status Reported [<i>Malikova in SELSKAYA ZHIZN 24 Dec</i>]	67
Media Report Developments for 26-31 December	67

Scientific

Activities of 'Mir' Cosmonauts Reported	68
1988 Space Exploration Plans Described	68

Military

Conference of Military Tribunal Chairmen Held [<i>KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 25 Dec</i>]	68
---	----

General Staff 'Expert' on Hopes To Ban CW's
LD311812 Moscow TASS in English 1736 GMT
31 Dec 87

["USSR: Step Towards Atmosphere of Trust"—TASS
Headline]

[Text] Moscow December 31 TASS—Having disclosed the amount of the stockpile of chemical weapons which does not exceed 50,000 tonnes as regards toxic agents, the Soviet side has demonstrated before the whole world the feasibility of a course on trust and openness in tackling disarmament-related problems, Captain 1st Rank Oleg Lisov, an expert of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, told TASS.

"This act of international trust and cooperation, the first in international practice, convincingly proves that the Soviet state, in deed rather than in words, strives for the shortest possible route to an international convention banning one more type of weapons of mass destruction, chemical," Oleg Lisov said. "By terminating early this year the production of chemical weapons, by building a plant in Chapayevsk to destroy their stockpiles, by inviting in October 45 delegations from states all over

the world to the Shikhany facility to demonstrate the entire range of chemical munitions and, finally, by unilaterally disclosing the amount of its arsenal, the Soviet state pursued one goal—to foster at the Geneva talks an atmosphere of greater trust and the spirit of mutual understanding and cooperation.

"The step of the American leadership to mass produce binary weapons at the Pine Bluff military chemical facility is dangerous and provocative. Washington made this step in conditions when marked progress was achieved at the Geneva talks on banning chemical weapons and, according to some of the experts, the talks reached the finishing straight," Oleg Lisov said. "This act also runs counter to the agreement of the Soviet and American leaders set forth in a joint statement in Washington and fully contradicts the spirit of this meeting."

"As before the Soviet Union is for the Washington agreement to be implemented in all aspects of life consistently and steadily," the Soviet spokesman said. "Therefore, our country was the first to announce the amount of its chemical arsenal, and, undoubtedly, hopes that the USA will take reply measures."

'Top Priority' Program Examines Disarmament
LD021640 Moscow in English to North America
0000 GMT 2 Jan 88

["Top Priority" program, presented by Vladimir Pozner, with "Doctors" Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov; not further identified]

[Text] [Pozner] How do you do, ladies and gentlemen. This is Vladimir Pozner presenting "Top Priority". With me as usual, Doctors Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov, and of course we begin with Happy New Year, the beginning of 1988. Last time we spoke about 1987, and I think we pretty much came to the conclusion that by and large 1987 was not a bad year. There were some very important achievements. There were important changes in public opinion and in public activity, putting pressure on leaders in all countries to find solutions to the most pressing problems, including of course that of nuclear disarmament. We do have the INF Treaty; it has been signed by the leaders of both countries and there are realistic hopes that the treaty will be ratified.

[Plekhanov] You sound a little more reserved in your assessment of the year 1987 than last time around. What happened?

[Pozner] Nothing happened. I've just moved into 1988 and I'm kind of, I'm not looking back any more. I'm looking ahead. And incidentally, what should we be looking ahead to? In my opinion, insofar as Soviet-American relations are concerned, clearly people will be looking ahead to the summit in Moscow between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, and the possibility, the hope, that a treaty will be signed concerning a 50% reduction in strategic offensive nuclear weapons. Perhaps we should start on that particular problem, or issue. How do you feel about it? How realistic is this? Dr Bogdanov, would you care to open the discussion?

[Bogdanov] Vladimir, that question of yours is not an easy one. If you would like to give an academic, you can give to that a number of answers. One is political answer, one is academic answer, and one is human answer.

[Pozner] Well, let's have the human answer.

[Bogdanov] Human answer is yes. That's what we expect in this coming year, beginning year. The most important event, summit meeting with the signing of the treaty cutting 50% strategic offensive weapons and strengthening the ABM treaty.

[Pozner] Yes, that's the human answer, but you may have an academic answer and the academic answer is: Is it possible or not? And in that you have several problems. Number one, one problem is time is very short to work out such a treaty, which is maybe more complex than the INF Treaty on many problems. My problem is: Will they have enough time to work it out, to reach such

a level that the paper will be ready for signing? Then you have another academic problem—will they be able to find out agreeable verification and control, mutually agreeable, procedures because though we have already very good precedent that strategic offensive weapons verification and control problem is much more complex than INF problem? So my question has no so far answer [as heard]. And the third academic problem, if you like: Do you have a strong constituency at the American end supporting that?

[Pozner] Well, it would seem to be, judging from public opinion polls, that there is a very large majority of the people who support it.

[Bogdanov] You have, of course, very convincing public opinion polls, but I do not belong to the people who fully trust public opinion polls and you know how you can...

[Pozner interrupts] Manipulate them?

[Bogdanov] Manipulate them; can be misled by them. I mean that you have another very major event in the American political life which will impact, to my mind, very much on any foreign policy decision taken by this administration. And I mean presidential election campaign, which will be in full swing by that time. So my question is: That problem will be major problem for the election or not? If it is a major problem my answer is different, if it is not a major problem I have another answer. So it is not yet clear for me.

[Pozner] Dr Plekhanov—excuse me for interrupting you—how do you feel about the forecast in that area? Are you optimistic, and do you think that perhaps Dr Bogdanov, as usual, is being very, very cautious? What's your view?

[Plekhanov] I'm worried, I must be frank. I am worried about the prospects of a 50% cut. I mean, everything must be done in order to achieve that thing, but I see a kind of a tide rising in Washington among some very influential people who are determined to prevent the development of this new trend, which began in 1987, the trend toward reductions of nuclear weapons. And some of them are even accusing President Reagan of being too soft, too naive, too much into this disarmament thing. All that, of course, sounds disingenuous as far as President Reagan is concerned because, for a man like him, a hardline conservative who has spent his lifetime castigating the communists, you can't really attack him as soft on communism or naive about the Russians. I think he is simply being realistic when he says that he does want that treaty, and thinks that it can be concluded in the first half of the year.

[Pozner] Is he not reflecting the desires of his own people...

[Plekhanov interrupts] Absolutely, absolutely.

[Pozner] ...That he is representing in office?

[Plekhanov] Absolutely. I think he is, I think he is. And it goes to his credit. But there are influential groups in Washington, I would say very well established groups, entrenched groups, who would do a lot of things in order to put as much brakes on this process as possible and maybe even to frustrate progress toward a START agreement with the Soviet Union. So I am worried.

[Pozner] Chapter one in this relationship of arms reductions has been written with the INF Treaty, and chapter one is pretty much finished. We are waiting for ratification, but I believe we have reason to be optimistic on the ratification issue. Chapter two is clearly a more difficult chapter—which is the 50% reduction—and am I hearing you right that chapter two may not be written, is that what you're saying really?

[Bogdanov] Yes, Vladimir, might not be written. But it may be written too.

[Pozner] Yes, I understand that.

[Bogdanov] It all depends on the correlation of forces within the American political establishment and, mind you, let me remind you once again, you have another phenomenon—presidential election campaign. That will impact very much on the movements, on the decisions, because suppose for a while—and I believe it will be the case—that the arms control will become an issue at the election, that's one thing. Then of course 50% cut will be something very major.

[Pozner] Yes, it will be debated.

[Bogdanov] It will be debated...

[Pozner interrupts] On a national scale.

[Bogdanov] Yeah, on the national scale. But suppose for a while that arms control, it's not an issue for the election campaign, which is a possibility, you never know.

[Pozner] It's hard to imagine, it's hard to imagine.

[Bogdanov] Yes, maybe hard to imagine, but it's a possibility, still it's a possibility. Then, of course, you have another, you know, approach to that.

[Pozner] Dr Bogdanov, you wanted to say something? Plekhanov, I'm sorry. Yes, I'm Looking at Dr Plekhanov and I'm saying Dr Bogdanov. I'm sorry.

[Plekhanov] I think that the opponents of further steps in arms reduction will not try to turn arms control into an issue in the presidential campaign because the structure of the public mood is too clear and the study of previous episodes, like the campaign of 1980, the campaign in 1980,'76 and others, when there were controversial issues of arms control on the agenda and there were

campaigns for the Presidency—you know, it's not good politics to accuse somebody like President Reagan of being too interested in arms control during an election campaign. So my expectation would be that the issue itself will be kind of sidetracked and the opposition will be more concentrated in the sort of closed spheres of Washington politics. The game and the struggle will be played out behind closed doors. Although, of course, in the campaign, some of the people, especially on the Republican right, would use the podium of the campaign in order to attack the disarmament problem.

[Pozner] Well, let's be optimistic and let's imagine that there is agreement on a 50% cut, and that this movement in the direction of eliminating nuclear weapons becomes a movement that cannot be turned back, because today it still can be turned back, clearly, but it becomes one that cannot be, becomes irreversible. Do you think that the proponents of an arms race, of keeping the Soviet Union and the United States in confrontation, might look elsewhere and go for the development of more esoteric, futuristic weapons, kind of thing? You want to get rid of nuclear weapons? Fine! Meanwhile, they will go their own separate ways and develop weapons that will be much more difficult to control and do away with. Do you think that danger exists?

[Bogdanov] Oh, yes. It does exist, very much. That's why we are so much worried about the future developments. That's why we are so much pressing. Go ahead, let's not waste time because tomorrow we may have such esoteric weapons that we will not be able to control them.

[Plekhanov] It will take decades to control.

[Bogdanov] Decades. They will control us. They will become the (?vortex) of our policies.

[Pozner] You know, that's what Academician Sagdeyev, who heads our space program here in the Soviet Union, I recall he was at Chautaugua, and they had a panel on disarmament and he made a very interesting statement. He said while our politicians, while our diplomats are sitting at tables discussing ways to reach agreement on medium-range missiles and strategic weapons, the scientists in the labs are going ahead with development and by the time agreements are reached on these more conventional, although they are nuclear, but conventional weapons in that sense, the scientists in the labs are creating things so fast that the diplomats and the politicians are falling behind.

[Bogdanov] Vladimir, SALT I and SALT II, a distance between them—7 years. Within 7 years' time, when politicians and diplomats are discussing it, two principally new weapons systems appeared.

[Pozner] Which were?

[Bogdanov] MIRV's and cruise missiles. Within 7 years. And now we don't know what to do with them. They have created the major problem in the arms control. That's a very vivid example.

[Pozner] In view of that, we go back to what we said a week ago when General Secretary Gorbachev alluded to the fact that the politicians lagged behind the people in their activity, in their way of thinking, perhaps even, and that thanks to pressure that was put on the politicians by people, by citizens' diplomacy, results have been reached. Do you believe that here in this very crucial area, again the popular opinion, the activities of the man in the street, could do something to block this type of development that you're talking about, put a brake on the laboratory research that is not so evident, that is not making the headlines, but that could in fact be a major, major stumbling block in the future to disarmament? What do you think about that? Can people make a difference?

[Bogdanov] People can make a difference but there is one point. All depends how the political leaders are receptive to this new mood. If they are, it's okay, but they may not be receptive. They may just snap their fingers....

[Pozner interrupts] Well, can't they be voted...

[Bogdanov interrupts] (?Something that happens) very often in the history.

[Pozner] Can't they be voted out of office?

[Plekhanov] Well, of course they can, of course. You know, the greatest secret in the world today is the fact that people, common people, have much more power, potentially, than they know. The problem is that they don't use it. They spend their time worrying about their own personal concerns. You know, being sorry about certain small things in life, looking too much at the pebbles which are right in front of them on the ground and forgetting about the huge precipices which they might avoid if they look ahead. You see, I'm on that big plane, I would say, I'm optimistic because I think if there is a potential there are ways to use it. But whether they will be used or not, that potential, whether the people's will will be mobilized in the political process is a big if, of course. I think, you know, when I listen to these discussions about the labs preparing some other terrible means of killing people, I'm always confronted with the question: How many people are taking the decisions about those new, terrible weapons? Maybe a few hundred? But there are, you know, there are 6 billion of us in the world. We will share the consequences, we will be the victims of all that, and I think that we have a right, we have a say in that process. Can't we stop a few madmen?

[Bogdanov] Sergey, I'm afraid that in the high-tech era, which is very different from the previous eras, the high tech itself is becoming a major power in shaping people's

decisions. That's another phenomenon of the times we are living in. High tech is becoming something, you know, that you don't control. It's becoming to control you.

[Plekhanov] You're right, but we must find out ways to control it, otherwise we'll be goners.

[Pozner] Well, in my opinion we cannot forget about the developments of the past few years. If we go back to 1980, when the relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States hit rock bottom and when virtually all agreements had been annulled or were not, all exchanges were nonexistent—at that point average citizens became active. Average citizens started pushing for contacts. Things like space bridges, peace marches, all kinds of different contacts began to develop and the governments of both countries were somewhat skeptical about the possibility of average people doing anything at all. And I think that if we look back over the past 7 years we see what people have been able to achieve when they have felt that their very existence was in danger. So when we look ahead to 1988 it is my feeling that again, if the politicians are not at a level that corresponds to what the people really want, I believe that they will be made to feel [as heard] what the people want. I have a very strong feeling and I cannot help but agree with President Eisenhower, who said—when he was no longer President, I must admit—that some day the people are going to want peace so much that the governments will have to step aside and let them have it.

[Bogdanov] Do you think that this time came?

[Pozner] I believe it's coming. I do, I really believe it's coming. What are your views? Now that we have very little time left I'll give you a few seconds.

[Plekhanov] It's coming.

[Pozner] It's coming.

[Bogdanov] I hope it's coming.

[Pozner] You hope it's coming. Well, we have here the usual balance of a more optimistic Dr Plekhanov and a very cautious and sometimes, let's admit it, pessimistic Dr Bogdanov, and I myself not really opening my cards, although I will admit that I am more optimist than pessimist.

[Bogdanov] I know you have some!

[Pozner] I have a few up my sleeve.

[Plekhanov] But you also have a job to think about!

[Pozner] Absolutely. At any rate I again want to congratulate all of you on 1988 and express my feeling that it is a year that will bring us much satisfaction and much to be happy about. And on that note, on behalf of "Top Priority," this is Vladimir Pozner wishing you all good listening.

Weekly 'International Observers Roundtable'

*LD032002 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1230 GMT 3 Jan 88*

["International Observers Roundtable" program; presented by Nikolay Ivanovich Agayants, all-union radio commentator; with Georgiy Aleksandrovich Kuznetsov, deputy editor in chief of ZA RUBEZHOM; and Vitaliy Sergeyevich Sobolov, NOVOYE VREMYA observer]

[Text] [Agayants] Good morning, Comrades. This is our first meeting this year, and naturally we'd like to ponder what it has in store for us: What political legacy—to draw on the popular oriental symbols—the Year of the Rabbit, 1987, will give away to the Year of the Dragon, 1988; not a bad one, I think. The many polls that have been conducted in the West reveal optimism—even though it's a restrained optimism, as they say—regarding international affairs, and also regarding the domestic affairs of the various countries. Harris, for instance, carried out a poll in the five leading capitalist countries, and the majority take a positive view of the development of relations between the Western and the socialist countries since the signing of the well-known Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of the two classes of nuclear missiles—about 70% of the British and West Germans, more than half of the Americans and French and more than half of the Japanese. They expect positive changes this year in the sphere of the development of economic ties and contacts between people, with the Soviet Union.

I think 1987 has delivered more than it promised. Who could have guaranteed at the beginning of the year that the Soviet-U.S. summit would take place and that the treaty would be signed? No less important has been the change in the international atmosphere itself and in the mood of the masses of the people in the West. Who—the British newspaper SUNDAY TIMES exclaims emotionally—could have imagined, a year ago, that a political book by the Soviet leader would become a bestseller in the capitalist world, and that a keen interest would develop in what is happening in Russia—that is, in the revolutionary changes by which this period, and the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, have been marked? As for the treaty itself, its text will be submitted tomorrow to the U.S. Senate for consideration and ratification. Senator Cranston estimates that there will be no more than 10 direct opponents of the treaty in the Senate, out of 100. To wreck the treaty, at least 24 more would be needed. Nonetheless, the situation is by no means clearcut.

[Kuznetsov] It has to be said that of course the conservatives will put up a fight, but their position has been thoroughly undermined. It has been undermined above all by the fact that the treaty has received extraordinarily wide support among the Americans. It's of interest in this connection that the Conference Committee of the House of Representatives and U.S. Senate has now said, in approving the new budget, that the funds which were to have been allocated for the deployment—or, if you like, for completing the deployment—of intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe should not be allocated. Why—because it is considered that the treaty will be ratified. In other words, ratification is assumed a priori. An interesting metamorphosis has been undergone by Senator Dole, the leader of the Republican minority, who was originally—before the publication of the treaty and before the summit—one of the opponents of the Soviet-U.S. agreement, but who changed his position 180 degrees after it had been promulgated and announced that he'd be supporting it.

[Agayants] He changed his tack because it had emerged that his support in Alabama, where the election race will begin—and this year there will be both presidential elections and midterm elections to the U.S. Congress—that support for Mr Dole, who aspires to be President, has fallen sharply, and he responded at once to the mood of the electorate.

[Kuznetsov] Quite right. Because a U.S. public opinion has shown that almost one Republican or independent person—not belonging to any political party—in four said that if the conservative Republican senators blocked the treaty, and prevented its ratification, then this by itself would be enough to persuade the electorate to vote for the Democrat candidates in the presidential elections. Moreover, the Republicans by a majority of 8 to 1, and the Democrats even by a majority of 15 to 1, have declared that they are most likely to vote for the presidential candidate who will support the treaty. That's pretty convincing, I think. Hence the changes in the positions of the senators.

[Sobolov] Yes, you're absolutely right, Georgiy Aleksandrovich. U.S. rightwingers of every shade are vigorously attacking the Soviet-U.S. agreement on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. President Reagan is also under fire from them for having put his signature to that historic document. The American ultras see this as an act of treachery against U.S. interests, as representing concessions of some kind to the Soviet Union. Well, the point of this ferocious campaign made to compromise the very idea of a Soviet-U.S. dialogue, the possibility of normalizing relations between the two powers and establishing cooperation between them. In addition, a single striking force is now being formed from all the forces capable, if not of wrecking the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, then at least of hindering and dragging out that process as much as possible.

Yet, as you've said, the hawks are clearly losing ground both at the Capitol and in the country. That could be why, in their impotent rage, they are attacking with frenzied anti-Soviet screams any signs of improvement in relations between the USSR and the United States. Among other things, they're even accusing the U.S. media of playing into the hands of the Kremlin—of helping to make propaganda for Soviet ideology. I have in mind the extreme alarm that has been aroused among the rightwingers, as you know, by the fact that the overwhelming majority of the radio and television commentators and reporters and correspondents of the prominent U.S. newspapers covering the Washington summit took a fairly positive view of our country and of the restructuring processes that are taking place in the Soviet Union. What a state of affairs! This phenomenon is, in my view, very symptomatic of present day America. There's enormous interest in our country, and Americans are obviously expressing themselves in favor of improving relations between the USSR and the United States, and that's just what the U.S. rightwingers, the U.S. anti-Sovietists don't like.

[Kuznetsov] When the NATO men get together, they suddenly start saying in unison that the Soviet threat exists. As a result of this, they have now—after the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles has been signed—taken out of its mothballs their program for modernizing nuclear and conventional NATO armaments, which they adopted in 1983, that is, when there was no question at all of a treaty or of the double-zero, when Soviet-U.S. relations were almost at rock bottom, i.e., frozen. Now, all of a sudden, under the pretext of undocking—in other words under the pretext that the U.S. missiles will be pulled out of Western Europe—they've suddenly started saying that Western Europe is, or will be, virtually defenseless and that consequently, they must compensate for the absence of nuclear weapons, modernize their conventional arms and so on and so forth. Hence the plans to develop a Franco-British cruise missile with a nuclear warhead; hence the plans to modernize the U.S. Lance missile or replace it with something more up-to-date, like the French Hades. Mikhail Sergeyevich says that imbalances exist, disproportions exist—and we know this. That is why the Soviet Union says, let us sit down to the table and first of all remove these imbalances and disproportions. But that doesn't mean that we must build up armaments. On the contrary, we must reduce them. The course of building up armaments is all the more illogical in that negotiations are actually in progress in Vienna to coordinate a mandate for the second stage of the talks on strengthening trust and disarmament in Europe—I stress that particularly.

[Agayants] Yes, all that is so, and yet I don't think there's any cause for pessimism. As the Americans say, every cloud has a silver lining. I'd like to remark in this connection that the past year—obviously—has been notable for a frontal advance of the new political thinking in all areas, including the sphere of intensifying the

interaction of the socialist states on the international scene, and for the achievement of successes in the field of disarmament—by which I mean the signing of the first treaty in human history to abolish two classes of nuclear missiles. For this to come about, there had to be a cooperation of many and various factors. It's perfectly evident that it wouldn't have been possible if the socialist countries had not acted in a coordinated and cohesive manner, and had not pursued, persistently, consistently and stubbornly, their course toward disarmament; if they had not put forward an integrated program of measures in this area, including those that were successfully implemented during the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Washington. As Erich Honecker has said, the Soviet delegation was acting, at the talks with President Reagan, on the basis of a mandate received from our friends and allies. This naturally gave greater weight to the position of the Soviet Union, while at the same time imparting a greater sense of responsibility for the outcome of the talks. One can therefore say today with every justification that the success achieved in Washington was the result of the joint efforts of the countries of the socialist community.

But only the first step has been taken; it must be followed by other constructive measures to curb the arms race, both nuclear and conventional. Here I think it is appropriate to recall an initiative of the member states of the Warsaw Pact that has remained—and still remains—on the agenda when the most important questions of our time are being discussed. I refer in particular to the program proposed by our countries for a substantial reduction of all components of the ground forces and tactical strike airforces of the European states, and also of the corresponding forces and systems of the United States and Canada situated in the Old World. Simultaneously with conventional arms, there would be a reduction of operational-tactical nuclear armaments. This concrete and logically-drafted, constructive program with a clearly marked European accent, envisaging the implementation of a complex of measures from the Atlantic to the Urals, is on the table at the Geneva talks; and one would like to believe that in the new year, it will become the basis for some businesslike discussion among the experts.

[Kuznetsov] You know, when we talk about the security of Europe, I think we should not forget its northern flank. And it so happens that the well-known Murmansk speech of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, setting out his program of security for northern Europe and for the Arctic, was delivered exactly 3 months ago yesterday. The thoughts which this gives rise to are these: The fact is that now, with the forthcoming elimination of missiles and all the talk about compensation that we've already touched on, I should say that the center of nuclear power is gradually tending to shift northwards. Because it's a question of building up sea and air based nuclear missiles, and the region concerned includes the North Atlantic and Britain, the upshot is that the countries of northern Europe, including neutral countries such as

Sweden and Finland, and also, say, Norway and Denmark—which refuse to have foreign bases, bases with nuclear weapons, on their territory in peacetime—in effect find themselves under attack.

[Sobolev] Yes, they become, as it were, those theaters of war in Europe that they're so fond of talking about as NATO headquarters.

[Kuznetsov] Yes. And what does the Murmansk initiative say? Above all, it's about providing peace for the north, providing peace for the Arctic. Well, in the first place, this is fully in accord with the Final Act that was adopted in 1975, and with the whole of the general European process. In the second place, it's about limiting—as Finland demands—naval activity in the seas adjacent to northern Europe. It's about setting up in northern Europe—and this is also being demanded by Finland, and Sweden—a nuclear free zone. In other words, we also appeal for a limit to naval activity and naval confrontation. It must be said that, where as the Norwegians immediately supported the idea put forward by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, and the Swedes and Finns also reacted favorably, the United States, for example, opposed it. So what are we left with? On the one hand, they say they're apprehensive about the Soviet Northern Fleet, which, they say, has access to the Atlantic; yet on the other hand, when we propose restricting the activity of the naval fleets, they're against it. In other words, they are quite obviously concerned, not with minimizing the so-called Soviet threat, but rather, with preserving the presence of their naval forces as close as they can to Soviet territory. That's the knot, as it were, that we've got to untie.

[Agayants] Speaking of the legacy we've inherited from last year, we cannot fail to turn also to national reconciliation—an idea that has gained currency in various hotspots, from Central America to Southeast Asia. This applies to Afghanistan.

[Kuznetsov] Indeed, Afghanistan is a complex point of conflict. We should say that during the final days of last year there was a lot of noise in the West on account of the situation in that country, in connection with the eighth anniversary of the bringing of Soviet troops onto Afghanistan's territory at the request of the Afghan Government. They made noise, shouted, accused us of every mortal sin, the main leitmotiv in the talking was that the Soviet Union should take its troops out of Afghanistan. Here we have the absurd logic of the political commentators and the Western political figures. They say: Take the troops out. But the Soviet Union and the Government of Afghanistan have already agreed about the withdrawal of Soviet troops a long time ago.

[Agayants] A political decision has been made in that respect and we have stated that with complete frankness and openness.

[Kuznetsov] Absolutely.

[Sobolev] And apart from that—excuse me—a decision has also been made by the leadership of Afghanistan, to implement the withdrawal of Soviet troops not over 16 months, as had been said earlier, but over 12.

[Kuznetsov] That's right; and it is even said that shorter periods are possible.

[Sobolev] Of course. At a closing session of the Grand Assembly Comrade Najibullah explained that even the 12 month period for the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from Afghan territory could be significantly reduced if in response to the Kabul proposal to extend the ceasefire for a further 6 months the leaders of the so-called Alliance of Seven were also to pledge themselves to cease hostilities and guarantee not to resume military operations in the future.

[Agayants] But that, naturally, depends on the assistance given to them by the Western countries. If there is no assistance there will be no resumption of hostilities.

[Kuznetsov] In the immediate future there are to be negotiations in Geneva between Pakistan and Afghanistan, indirect negotiations, which are being conducted through Cordovez, official representative of the UN general secretary. Among other things, Michael Armacost, under secretary of state for political affairs, is flying to Islamabad in order to coordinate strategy with Pakistan on the eve of the Geneva negotiations. And what is said in connection with this in Washington? In particular the right-wing newspaper WASHINGTON TIMES says that the United States and Pakistan are planning to expand the flow of military supplies for the Afghan resistance. I have especially underlined these words.

[Sobolev] In Central America, last year brought important advances toward political settlement of the conflicts. The Guatemala process began, based on the results of the years of efforts by the Contadora Group and the Support Group, which represent practically the whole of Latin America. Latin America's will and prestige and the striving of its peoples' toward peace forced the opponents of settlement to maneuver. By opponents I mean, first and foremost, the United States. New large appropriations for the Somozists from the U.S. treasury were postponed until the beginning of this year. The leaders of the Central American countries are to gather soon to sum up the past stage of the Guatemala process. The White House, note U.S. observers, is hoping that it will be possible to use the results of the conference to accuse the Government of Nicaragua of intractability and to impart new momentum to the undeclared war against that country.

So far through its maneuvering the White House has only succeeded in creating a practically unanimous impression throughout the world, equally among the Sandinists' allies and opponents, that the United States wants to undermine the Guatemala process. That has been a serious political loss for the White House and now

its hopes, as far as I understand, are being built, above all, on the popularity of the Sandinist government being ruined by internal difficulties in Nicaragua caused by the war and the Somozists' sabotage and on the Somozists finally somehow managing to gain a bit of power.

It is characteristic that at the talks, which they are conducting with representatives of the Nicaraguan Government through intermediaries, the contras are doing their utmost to appear as a solid partner with political weight, while the Sandinists are rejecting their claims, limiting the agenda to a cease-fire, refusing to discuss political questions, and acting through an intermediary, Cardinal Obando y Bravo, and through foreign technical experts, which greatly discourages the Somozists. That's why the talks have already twice become deadlocked. How will things go from here? That depends on the position of the Central American presidents when they meet; on the United States Congress when it is asked for appropriations for the contras; on Latin America's persistence and will for peace, which is a very significant factor; and on the Sandinists' determination, which is perhaps the most important thing.

[Agayants] Here, Vitaliy Sergeyevich, I would like to note the following: In order to justify its actions in Central and Latin America, as well as in other regions of the globe, the Washington administration puts forward the argument about the need to defend its vital interests. This argument from the arsenals of the well-known doctrine of neoglobalism is no more than a curtain and a smokescreen, under the cover of which the United States in one place or another is implementing a policy of unceremonious and crude interference in other states' internal affairs.

At the end of last year, at the height of the Christmas festivities, THE NEW YORK TIMES published what I thought was an interesting article by a specialist in the sphere of security, one Kaleb Carr. Today, manifestations of U.S. expansionism, he writes, can be clearly seen the world over, but the ones that suffer from it worst are the peoples of Latin America. This can only be justified, says the author with irony, by our leaders' sincere belief that the countries of the region that have entered the road of noncapitalist development represent a threat to the political and territorial integrity of the United States. Kaleb Carr speaks ironically, while the White House seriously thinks that, say, Nicaragua and Cuba mean virtually a powder keg at its gates. Hence the attempts, by hook or by crook to overthrow the Sandinist government in Nicaragua; hence the provocations against the island of freedom and other unsightly deeds by Uncle Sam, who, against common sense, in practice again and again resorts to big stick politics and gunboat diplomacy.

[Sobolev] Going back to what people, including people in the West, expect of 1988 we could say that hopes are replacing anxieties and anxieties are replacing hopes. Well, hopes—we have already spoken about this—connected with the disarmament process, with the new

Soviet-U.S. meeting and with further steps along the road of disarmament. More and more Americans are leaning toward the view that cooperation in various fields with the Soviet Union is necessary. The idea of jointly organizing a manned flight to Mars has now gained especial popularity in their minds. It is even being written that such an idea might be proposed by President Reagan, when and if he comes to Moscow. Here is a clear alternative to the Strategic Defense Initiative, that is, peaceful cooperation in space instead of dangerous military rivalry. It would cost less and bring us all more benefits...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] And joy.

[Sobolev] And joy. As far as the anxieties are concerned, they are of course connected with the fact that heaps of weapons remain, that some hot spots are getting even hotter, for example in the Middle East, where the Iran-Iraq war is running high, and in the final weeks of last year what amounted to popular uprising began on the territories occupied by Israel. Anxieties connected with the spread of AIDS and drug addiction, and with economic and social problems.

In this regard the legacy of last year does not arouse much enthusiasm: Since the October stock exchange panic in the Western countries the prospects of a slump, or even, in the view of many specialists, a crisis, are becoming ever more distinct. During the final days of last year the U.S. dollar continued to fall, despite massive dollar purchases by the leading Western banks aimed at saving the major Western currency. Share prices have been falling together with the dollar, and these are all seen as symptoms of impending financial difficulties that will afflict not only those who live in the West but also, and to an even greater degree, those who live in the developing countries.

[Kuznetsov] On the subject of the dollar I'd just like to say that it is now, once again, somehow usual to view the fall of the dollar as proof that the U.S. Economy is the injured party in this case. This is not quite true, because the U.S. Government is now deliberately opting for a fall in the dollar's exchange rate—it is allowing it to fall. Ten days or so ago there was a statement by the Seven, by representatives of the seven leading capitalist states. They said that yes, it was essential to raise the dollar's exchange rate, but the U.S. Government has done nothing to fulfil the promises it has given in accordance with that statement. The reason for this is that the United States has a colossal foreign trade deficit, and the following very interesting example will serve to show what happens when the dollar falls. Three months ago a Mercedes cost \$40,140 on the U.S. market; converted into West German currency that sum came to DM72,653. During the last few days of December, while the car still cost the same in the United States, because of the weak dollar the proceeds received by the corporation in West German currency came to only DM63,421. That is, virtually DM10,000 less.

[Agayants] But that sounds like fraud.

[Kuznetsov] Yes, if you like. Thus by reducing the value of the dollar the United States is attempting to increase their exports on the one hand...

[Agayants, interrupting] And compensate for their foreign trade deficit.

[Kuznetsov] And compensate for the foreign trade deficit on the other hand. We should not forget that their foreign debt is \$400 billion. BUSINESS WEEK, the organ of the United States business circles, recently warned that if we continue to live like lords, if we continue taking loans and spending so lavishly, including expenditure on military aims and on our so-called leading role—in other words the aspiration toward world domination—this debt will grow to \$600 billion in the near future and to \$1 trillion in the nineties. This is a source of concern for BUSINESS WEEK. But when the United States reduces the value of the dollar it thereby in fact reduces the value, if you like, of its external debt.

[Sobolev] It must be said that the socialist countries are also confronted with economic problems, extremely serious ones. Practically all of them are implementing programs which are, to some extent, similar to our restructuring. Hungary is introducing a tax reform from the new year; Poland is working out a formula for the second stage of the economic reform; and a struggle is unfolding against negative trends in Cuba—that heroic republic which, as you know, celebrated the anniversary of its revolution the day before yesterday, and celebrated it, as always, on an upswing in the persistent struggle to improve the people's life.

[Agayants] Here, Vitaliy Sergeyevich, it would be appropriate to note that one of last year's events which is projected onto the current year—important events which held the attention of the world public—was, naturally, the 13th CPC Congress, which was held from

25 October to 1 November in the Great Hall of the Beijing House of the People's Assembly. Taking part in it were 1,953 delegates from all parts of China. As we know, the review report of the CPC Central Committee—Forward Along the Road of Socialism—was delivered by Zhao Ziyang. He noted that in the 9 years that have passed since China began implementing radical reforms the country has gone through a profound change.

A start has been made to tackling problems, and very acute problems too, which have worried Chinese workers for many years. Let us note that since 1978 the state's gross product and financial revenue have almost doubled; the income of town and rural dwellers has also doubled. Today, the absolute majority of China's population of over 1 billion are well fed, clothed, and shod. Overall, there are no longer any shortages of consumer goods and the problem of unemployment is being successfully tackled.

At the same time, however, the congress noted that the people of China are still confronted with many problems and difficulties, that the truth must be faced, and cardinal measures have to be taken. Thus there are, as yet, no reasons at all for trumpet fanfares, though in absolute terms the PRC ranks among the top 10 countries in the world in industrial and agricultural production, leads in the spheres of grain, cotton, cotton fabric, cement production, and coal extraction, and holds leading positions in steel output, and, let us say, power generation, and sugar production. So progress is clearly in evidence, as they say, though at the same time China does not even figure among the top 100 countries as regards per capita GNP, and comes about 70th in the quality of life index. Thus, the Chinese comrades know about these difficulties and are taking vigorous measures to overcome them. That indeed is the aim of the reforms approved by the 13th CPC Congress.

Our broadcast has come to an end. Thank you comrades for your attention, and all the best!

United States & Canada

Reagan's New Year's Address to Soviet People

PM041327 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Jan 88
Morning Edition pp 1, 4

["President R. Reagan's New Year Message to the USSR"]

[Text] Good evening. I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States, am addressing you, the citizens of the Soviet Union, on the coming of the new year. I know that in the Soviet Union, as throughout the world, this is a time of hope and expectation, a time when families gather together, a time of prayer and of thoughts about peace. The same thing happens in the United States. At this time of the year, Americans leave for all corners of the country in their cars, on trains, or by airplane to be with their kin. Of course many Americans came to the United States from other countries, and at this time of year they look forward to their friends and relatives visiting them from their homeland. The majority of us celebrate Christmas or Hanukkah. On the festive days we go to church or synagogue, then gather around the family table. After giving thanks for all the things the Lord has blessed us with, we share a traditional meal: goose, turkey, or roast beef; and we exchange gifts. On New Year's Eve we gather again and, like you, raise our glasses and toast the coming year, the realization of our hopes, our families and, yes, our people and the whole world.

This year the future of our people and the world particularly occupies our thoughts. We think of our people because in a year's time, we Americans will be electing a new President. In this process, each adult member of our society plays a definite role. We listen to what the candidates say. We will be discussing their views and exchanging views ourselves. In November we will go to the polls. Next January, I will still be President, but soon after that our country will be headed by the person the people elect in November.

As I said, we Americans will be thinking this year of the future of the world as well, in exactly the same way as you think about it and for the same reasons. General Secretary Gorbachev and I hope to meet again in several months, this time in Moscow. Last month in Washington we signed a treaty on intermediate-range nuclear missile forces, having agreed to eliminate a whole class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear armaments. This was a historic step toward reducing nuclear weapons on both sides. But it is just the beginning.

Soviet and U.S. representatives are now discussing in Geneva a 50% reduction in strategic nuclear armaments. A treaty will possibly be ready for signing at our meeting in the spring. The world is praying that this will happen. For our part, we are fully resolved to try to achieve this. As you see, we are guided by the dream of a world free of the threat of nuclear war; indeed, free of the threat of any

kind of war. In such a world there would be far fewer missiles and other tools of destruction. Today both the United States and the Soviet Union have the chance to create a defensive shield against ballistic missiles, a shield that will threaten no one by virtue of its existence. I am resolved to use the opportunities offered by science and technology to achieve a greater safeguard of peace.

The general secretary and I also foresee a continuation of our talks on other problems that deeply concern both our peoples, such as the expansion of personal contacts and greater exchange of information between our countries. The expansion of contacts and the exchange of information requires that decisions be made concerning the living conditions within the country that will have an influence upon international relations. This is also true as far as human rights are concerned. As you know, we Americans are concerned about human rights, including the freedom of speech, of the press, of religion, and movement [peredvizheniye]. We always remember the words of one wise man who said: Violence never lives alone, and is incapable of living alone. It is necessarily interwoven with falsehood. Silence is a form of falsehood. We always come out with full voice in defense of human dignity.

Like you, we Americans are also troubled by senseless conflicts in a number of regions around the world. In some cases regimes that have been installed with the support of outside military force are oppressing their own people, giving rise to people's resistance and armed conflicts that often spill over the borders of the country in question. Too many mothers, including Soviet mothers, must shed tears on the graves of their sons who have perished. True peace means not only preventing major war, but ending little wars. This is why we support the attempts to find just solutions, through discussions, solutions that would be acceptable to the people suffering from these regional wars.

There is no such thing as the "inevitability of history." We can make the decision to make our world more secure and more free—if we have the courage. But there is no denying the courage either of your people or of ours. We were allies in a monstrous war, a war in which Soviet people displayed an unfading model of courage. Let us dedicate this year to the display of courageous will for peace, not for war. That is our duty to mankind, our duty to our children, and our children's children, and to all subsequent generations.

Happy New Year! I thank you and may God bless you!

Gorbachev's New Year's Address to American People

LD011427 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1233 GMT 1 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 1 Jan (TASS)—We are reporting the text of M.S. Gorbachev's address to the American people:

Ladies and Gentlemen, Friends,

On this day of the New Year festivities I am pleased to greet you, the citizens of the United States, and to convey to you, on behalf of all Soviet people, their New Year congratulations and best wishes.

One January is the day when we in our minds sum up the results of the past year and try to look ahead into the coming year.

The past 1987 ended with the event that can be seen as a good omen. In Washington President Reagan and I signed a treaty on eliminating medium- and shorter-range missiles. This treaty is the first step on the path to reducing nuclear weapons and this is why it will forever be important. But the treaty also has another advantage: It has brought our peoples together.

We enter the New Year with the hope of advancing further along the path to a more secure world.

We are ready to continue fruitfully the negotiations on a reduction of strategic armaments so as to sign an appropriate treaty during the first half of the year.

We would like to engage without delay in considering the question of a radical reduction in arms forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

We are ready to act together in resolving other problems, including regional ones.

I think that one can say that the past year was marked by an increasing mutual interest by our peoples in each other. Contacts between Soviet and U.S. young people, war veterans, scientists, teachers, cosmonauts, business people, and cultural representatives have considerably broadened.

The thousands of threads of these contacts are beginning, I would say, to create a palpable fabric of trust and mounting mutual understanding. It is the duty of politicians in the USSR and the United States to take account of the mood of the citizens of their countries and to reflect their wishes in political decisions.

It is with a sense of awareness of their high responsibility for the present and the future that the Soviet people are beginning its work in the new year. Profound changes will take place in our country along the path of further restructuring, democratization and radical economic reform. In the final analysis this will make it possible for us to emerge on to a broad path of accelerated development.

We know that you Americans have sufficient problems, too, but, in dealing with these problems, it seems to me we and you need to remember the most important thing: A person's life is equally priceless, regardless of whether he lives in the Soviet Union, the United States, or any other country, so let us spare no effort to affirm peace on earth.

Ladies and Gentlemen! During the official farewell ceremony prior to my flight out of Washington, I expressed regret that I had got to know the United States so little on my trip there. However, it seems to me that I managed to understand the most important thing.

This is the most important thing—the enormous potential of good will that the American people have. I can assure you that just as enormous a potential of good will also exists among the Soviet people. Liberating this is the most noble and responsible task of the statesmen and politicians of our countries.

If they do this, it will be possible for what can only be dreamed of today—lasting peace, the elimination of the arms race, extensive trade, setting up cooperation in the struggle against hunger, disease and ecological problems, and progress in guaranteeing human rights and in resolving other humanitarian problems—to come about.

May the incoming year of 1988 be an important landmark on this road.

In concluding this New Year's address to the citizens of the United States, I wish peace, happiness and joy to every American family.

I congratulate you all on the New Year!

U.S. Media Coverage Noted

CNN Carries Address Live

LD010751 Moscow TASS in English 0744 GMT
1 Jan 88

[Text] New York January 1 TASS—The American television company CNN has broadcast live the full text of the new year address of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the Soviet people.

NBC Shows 'Full Text'

LD011934 Moscow TASS in English 1927 GMT
1 Jan 88

[Text] New York January 1 TASS—The American television network NBC has shown the recorded full text of Mikhail Gorbachev's New Year address to the American people.

After that, it showed the recording of President Ronald Reagan's address to the USSR.

'Changing' Climate in USSR-U.S. Ties Viewed
PM011549 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Jan 88
Morning Edition p 6

[Stanislav Kondrashov article: "The World Is Changing"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] We try to find a place for every year among all the others. After a long break 1987 became a year of important accomplishments in the main area of international life—namely Soviet-U.S. relations. The year resolved the most urgent question of recent years—the question of the elimination of intermediate-range missiles in Europe—adding in shorter-range missiles and extending the double-zero to the entire world.

Of course the youthful-looking but extremely wise Clio, the muse of history, is not keen to fill her roll of parchment with loud epithets dictated by people excited by fresh events. Only the future will determine the real significance of what happens today. However, the past also has the right to be heard and is even now distinguishing the outgoing year from its immediate predecessors, not because there are increasing anxieties, but because there has been a real change for the better.

In the new year President Reagan will be preparing to make a return visit to our country. Under the maximum program the Washington treaty could be supplemented by a Moscow treaty—on the dismantling of the main doomsday machine, a 50% reduction in strategic offensive arms. The U.S. President would like to crown his 8-year term with two treaties with Moscow, although he started, you will remember, by rejecting a treaty signed by his predecessor—SALT II. Such a final result would also suit us fine, and our contribution to it would be no less than the Americans'. Yet the main question for 1988 is: Will the maximum program come about? If only there was another year in reserve before the pre-election merry-go-round across the ocean, which will begin to suck everything into its vortex. If only the difficult and complex balance of interests that made itself felt in Washington after the familiarization in Geneva and the broad horizons opened up and then immediately, it seemed, dashed in Reykjavik, had been found a year earlier. A year from now the current tenants of the White House will be moving to their California ranch and we will be trying to fathom a new U.S. president.

He who remembers the past can see things clearly. He who forgets the past cannot grasp the way the world is going.

Our relations with Ronald Reagan have not been distinguished by harmony, to put it mildly. At his first news conference in January 1981 he set a demonstratively hostile tone: It is impossible to deal with communists, he said, because their morality allows them to lie, cheat, and not observe agreements. U.S.-Soviet dialogue was frozen, and mega-armament programs were successfully

pushed through Congress. Addressing the British Parliament in the summer of 1982, the U.S. President called for a "crusade" against communism, and then dubbed the Soviet Union an "evil empire."

Not to be outdone, we also cultivated the enemy image. In a state of extreme emotion Reagan was compared with Hitler, as if there was no visible difference between a stable bourgeois democratic system and a Nazi dictatorship blinded by hatred toward the entire world. When unprecedented anti-Soviet hysteria was unleashed in Washington in connection with the incident involving the South Korean Boeing [airliner] downed over Sakhalin, it was officially stated in Moscow that any illusions about the possibility of a positive evolution on the part of the Reagan administration had been "finally dispelled." But what else could be done when in November 1984 the Americans re-elected their President by an overwhelming majority?

Yes, he who forgets the past cannot grasp the way the world is going. As we bid farewell to 1987 we can see that the world is changing!

When Soviet journalists flew into Washington before the summit meeting they were astonished to see Reagan being attacked from the right by the most fanatical right-wing crusaders. He defended himself politely, not wishing to lose their support. His answer to them was that their nonacceptance in principle of any agreements with the Russians is evidently explained by the fact that deep down they believe in the inevitability of war whereas he, Reagan, does not. He sought to justify himself by explaining to them that Gorbachev does not want to create a "single world communist state." In the eyes of his own supporters Reagan-87 was denying Reagan-81. It is said that during one of the Washington conversations he proposed to his interlocutor that they address each other by their first names—Ron and Mikhail.

The world is changing? It is true, but the formulation is too general. Who is changing in this crowded world? And who is changing it? Has Reagan changed? No, he has not changed, because he is just as conservative and still considers that talks with the Soviet Union are only possible from a position of strength. Yes, he has changed, because he has moved in the direction of realism and wants arms reduction agreements. He has also changed because we have changed him through the changes in us, by changing ourselves.

It has so happened that the U.S. President is now dealing with a fourth Soviet leader. He has changed, but first and foremost we have changed—and further than him in moving in the direction of realism, flexibility, initiative, and consideration of global interests. It is not for nothing that we call our thinking new.

New and unchanged are words with different meanings. We used to be too fond of the latter. Admittedly peace is our unchanged objective, but the means for achieving it have been updated and become more flexible, dynamic, and effective, as the past year has shown.

We have changed drastically, and there is no need to be embarrassed about saying so. Stagnation is equally harmful in domestic and foreign policy alike, and serving our own people and the ideal of socialism has nothing in common with assuming an unbending, inflexible, infallible, and immobile posture. Flexibility does not mean unprincipledness and spinelessness, but it is the interests of the people, not ossified, rigid dogma, which must form the living, flexible backbone of policy. We are not slaves; slaves we are not. In the 8th decade of the October Revolution these formulas from the anti-illiteracy campaign of the first postrevolutionary years signify the rejection of deference to dogma.

Just over 2 years ago some colleagues and I had the opportunity to interview President Reagan shortly before his first meeting with M.S. Gorbachev in Geneva. IZVESTIYA carried a second interview with him on the eve of the Washington meeting. Unlike the first interview, it was published without comment. Unshackling and unfettering ourselves, we have come a long way in 2 years in letting the reader himself judge where the U.S. President is and is not right. The reader is not a child.

I remember that at the end of the pre-Geneva interview Reagan, who received us in his office, suddenly took a card from his jacket pocket and read out the equivalent of a credo explaining his commitment to the arms race: "Peoples distrust each other not because they are armed. They arm themselves because they distrust each other."

That was his favorite maxim at that time. He has now changed it in favor of another, this time in Russian—"doveray, no proveryay." Trust but verify. With his inherent penchant for the figurative and felicitous phrase, this is how he now explains the essence of his approach to the Soviet Union and the very essence of Soviet-U.S. relations.

We are not going to disown a saying of our own people when it suddenly springs, entertainingly pronounced, from the lips of a foreign leader. Our saying is both shorter and—most importantly—more constructive than the President's previous quotation, which invokes eternal lack of trust as justification for an eternal excess of arms. The new thinking matches the old saying. Verify! we urged in 1986, when U.S. scientists with their seismic instruments were allowed into the area of the Semipalatinsk nuclear test site. Verify! we also urged in 1987, when Western representatives visited the secret Shikhany facility where chemical weapons are stored and three U.S. congressmen visited the construction site of the radar station near Krasnoyarsk which they see as a possible violation of the Treaty on the Limitation of ABM Systems. Verify! Without unprecedented readiness

to translate this principle into highly detailed mutual commitments there would have been no treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. Under the terms of this treaty 200 U.S. inspectors will gain access to hitherto highly secret facilities in the USSR, and 200 Soviet inspectors will do the same in the United States. The verification system will operate for 13 years.

If we single out the most revolutionary and most promising of the changes the new thinking has brought us in the foreign policy and military strategic spheres, it is, I think, precisely this—agreement on verification and arms control measures that previously would have been regarded as legalized espionage or an encroachment on the sovereign right to keep military secrets. For a long time the Americans used this trump card against us, but now we hold this card, and maybe it is stronger than theirs because it is being demonstrated that we are prepared to go even further than they are in questions of verification. Herein lies the most promising of the prospects for the conclusion of a treaty on cutting strategic offensive arms in half.

Minutes count in critical situations in the nuclear missile age. The factor of surprise becomes decisive. Surprise presupposes the strictest secrecy, so secrecy feeds suspicion and fuels the arms race, and makes glasnost in the military field an objective requirement of the times and a factor for strategic stability.

The world in which we live, of course, is not a world of high-minded idealists with open arms ready to embrace everybody but a harsh, real world steeped in militarism. States are going to protect their military secrets, but their framework must be determined by realism taking account of the nature of the present, not the age-old inertia of tradition. Reasonable secrecy, like reasonable sufficiency in arms, like reasonable limits on military expenditure subject to state and public monitoring [kontrol]—all these things are linked to each other and to the fundamental tasks of our internal restructuring. Then there will be none of the current perplexed questions like: Why under the Washington treaty are we destroying more missiles and warheads than the Americans? And there will be no answers like: Because we have more of them. Answers of this kind give rise to another "why?"

People are asking what savings we will obtain from the Washington treaty—what savings on military expenditure so peaceful expenditure can be increased. And what savings we will obtain from the Moscow treaty, if it comes about. What savings we will obtain from the reduction of conventional arms and military forces if agreement is reached on that. Restructuring (both international and domestic) must be accompanied by the conversion of swords into plowshares so that the funds obtained from swords can be channeled into a more prosperous life. [passage omitted]

China

U.S. Nuclear Expansion in Japan Seen as Danger
OW310543 Moscow International Service in Mandarin
0300 GMT 28 Dec 87

[Alekseyev commentary]

[Text] Some 10,000 people demonstrated in Naha City, the administrative center of Japan's Okinawa Island. The demonstrators shouted: "No cruise missiles!" "Remove U.S. nuclear weapons from Okinawa!" In this connection, station observer Alekseyev writes:

It is commonplace to hold large-scale, antimilitary demonstrations in Okinawa and other parts of Japan. However, I still think the recent antinuclear demonstration in Okinawa merits special attention. As you know, the Soviet Union and the United States signed the INF Treaty, representing a historic step taken on the road to a nuclear-free world. On the other hand, the United States has (?potential militarist forces) that are seeking a way to make up for the nuclear weapons to be destroyed in accordance with the treaty—this includes deploying new nuclear weapons worldwide. The places they intend to deploy such weapons also include the Japanese islands.

Japanese newspapers believe that, for this purpose, an expert group from the Pentagon will hold talks with the leaders of the Japanese Defense Agency on 11 January 1988. According to the Japanese Communist Party's newspaper AKAHATA, during the talks, they will also discuss the question of expanding the U.S. nuclear forces in Japan in order to make up for the so-called losses resulting from the signing of the treaty.

As everyone knows, the Tokyo government has all along denied the existence of U.S. nuclear weapons in Japan. However, more and more facts of which people have become aware prove to the contrary. A group of Japanese Diet members recently visited a U.S. military base at Wakkanai and discovered special underground rooms which are to be used to ensure the capacities of communication and electronic reconnaissance in the event of a nuclear conflict.

Japanese media also note F-16s are deployed on a big U.S. base at Misawa in Japan's Honshu, the latest American aircraft capable of carrying nuclear weapons. There are nuclear missiles stockpiled underground at the base.

Japanese newspapers have reported more than once that many U.S. nuclear weapons are stockpiled in Okinawa.

Judging from various aspects, the Pentagon is planning to cooperate closely with Japanese militarists in taking measures to further expand the U.S. nuclear forces deployed in the Japanese islands. Needless to say, such a plan is extremely dangerous to Japan and its neighboring countries, including China.

Bilateral Relations Viewed 'With Satisfaction'
OW040053 Moscow International Service in Mandarin
0100 GMT 30 Dec 87

[Ivanov commentary]

[Text] The peoples of the Soviet Union and China can point out with satisfaction that relations between the two countries achieved further development this year. Both countries want to expand and strengthen these relations. Considerable achievements have been made in politics, science, technology, and other cooperative spheres. The Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Soviet Council of Ministers stressed when greeting Chinese leaders on the occasion of the 38th founding anniversary of the People's Republic of China: It is of great significance that the Soviet Union and China have been consistently working toward one goal in their struggle against the danger of nuclear war, and in their striving for disarmament and international security. As the world's largest socialist countries, the Soviet Union and China can to a great degree affect the situation in the Asia-Pacific region and the whole world.

Not long ago, Comrade Rogachev, special envoy of the Soviet leader, met with Wu Xueqian, Political Bureau member of the CPC Central Committee and foreign minister. The meeting proved that both countries work in the same direction in the important issue of nuclear disarmament. The Chinese foreign minister welcomed results of the meeting between Comrade Gorbachev and Reagan. They signed a treaty on destroying the Soviet and the U.S. intermediate- and short-range missiles. Wu Xueqian reaffirmed China's unswerving support for the total destruction of all nuclear weapons as well as actions and suggestions leading to that. As everyone knows, as early as in January 1986, Comrade Gorbachev outlined a concrete plan in his statement for the gradual destruction of world's nuclear weapons. This October, the 11th round of Soviet-Chinese political consultations was held in Beijing, where further normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations was discussed. Both sides summed up the results of contacts in various fields in the past 5 years and pointed out the positive role that political consultation plays in contacts. The 42d United Nations General Assembly, which closed recently, was marked by the fact that socialist countries have intensified their struggle for peace, international security and disarmament. The Soviet Union and China are witnesses to this development. All in all, the cooperation between the two countries in international political domain in the elapsing year gives up hopes. This kind of cooperation will be continued.

Bilateral Relations in Past Year Reviewed

*OW040134 Moscow International Service in Mandarin
1500 GMT 30 Dec 87*

["Special Program": "Road of Friendship and Cooperation" presentation by station observer Kemikemiyev]

[Text] Hello, dear friends. I wish you health and happiness in the coming year. I also hope that the major events of the past year will leave you with wonderful memories. Today I would like to talk about some major events in the relations of our two countries. First, I will begin with our cooperation in economics, trade, science, technology, and culture. In my opinion, we have scored considerable achievements in these areas.

Let's cite a few facts: The long-term Soviet-Chinese trade agreements are being executed smoothly. The volume of goods exchange between the two countries between 1981 and 1986 increased ninefold. A few days ago, a barter and payment agreement for 1988 was signed in Beijing. The agreement calls for a further increase in the trade volume and varieties of merchandise.

Scientific and technological contacts between us are also expanding. The contacts will be long-term. Our two countries have agreed that the Soviet Union will sponsor Soviet science and technology day activities in China next year, while China will hold a Chinese science and technology day in the Soviet Union in 1989.

The three-year plan for 1988-1990 promises a bright future for Soviet-Chinese cultural cooperation. A few days ago, representatives of both countries signed a draft cooperation plan. This agreement covers education, public health, television, broadcasting, cinema, sports, and cooperation in other areas.

Economic cooperation is developing smoothly. The Soviet Union is now helping to build or renovate 24 of China's industrial projects ranging from power, metallurgy, machinery, and the chemical industry. We also want to learn about China's experience in renovating the light and food industries. Basically, our two countries exchange experience based on equality and mutual interests. By exchange, we mean an exchange of experience regarding socialist construction.

Comrade Gorbachev once said that we share the same views as China on many major events such as accelerating social and economic development. China is watching our country's reform with great interest. As Liu Wei, head of an NPC delegation which visited our country this summer, said: We highly value the policy and laws adopted during and since the 27th CPSU Congress which are marked by new thinking and a new work style. We both are in the process of reform and experimentation. We are different countries with different experiences and work styles, but we both exchange experience which will be a great help to reform in our two countries. We are glad to see the development of good relations

between our two countries in the last few years. We share a common point: We both are socialist countries. We also share a lengthy common border and are linked by common mountains and rivers. We should be friendly neighbors. In addition, we have a longstanding and deep friendship between our two peoples. We are convinced that relations between our two countries will develop constantly. Our undertaking of socialist construction requires this constant development of relations.

Amity Group Leader's New Year Message

*OW040058 Moscow International Service in Mandarin
1500 GMT 31 Dec 87*

[New Year's message from Tikhvinskiy, chairman of the Central Council of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society]

[Text] [Tikhvinskiy is briefly heard speaking in Russian which fades into Mandarin] On behalf of all members of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society and its activists working in Moscow and other parts of the Soviet Union, I extend my cordial New Year's greetings to all listeners, wishing you good health, happiness, and success in socialist construction.

As we ring out the old year and ring in the new, we would like to look into the future as well as review the past. To the Soviet people, 1987 has been a year of great significance in the history of our motherland. We celebrated the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution with great pomp and ceremony. Inheriting and carrying forward the cause of socialism pioneered by the October Revolution, we have ushered in a new era of socialist reform in various aspects of our social life. We are confident that the Soviet people will be able to use our creative labor to continue the cause of the October Revolution with the experience accumulated by our forefathers.

The Soviet people watch, with keen interest, the gigantic tasks of socialist construction carried out by the Chinese people under the CPC leadership. We are delighted at the Chinese laboring people's achievements, and wish them greater successes. The similarities between the reforms in China and the Soviet Union have created more possibilities for expanding the bilateral ties and exchanging experience for more smoothly implementing the tasks confronting the people of the two countries.

In recent years the people in the Soviet Union and China have both agreed that bilateral relations have improved markedly. Leaders of the two countries have met regularly; official delegations have exchanged visits; trade and economic cooperation has continuously expanded; and cultural, sports, scientific, and technological ties have grown. On 29 October this year, the Soviet people celebrated the 30th anniversary of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, one of the few societies in the Soviet Union for promoting friendship with foreign countries. In 1987 alone, the society held a total of about 40

activities to commemorate events in the Chinese people's national liberation struggle and the history of bilateral relations, as well as outstanding Chinese men of letters, artists, dramatists, and film producers, including soirees on the 38th PRC founding anniversary, the 50th anniversary of the beginning of the Chinese People's War of Resistance against Japan, the 60th anniversary of the Nanchang Uprising, the 60th anniversary of the martyrdom of Li Dazhao, one of the founders of the CPC, and on the 80th birth anniversary of the famed Chinese authoress Ding Ling. All Soviet socialist republics and oblasts have also actively taken part in the society's activities.

To our greatest satisfaction, ties between the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society and the China-USSR Friendship Association have developed smoothly. The 1986-87 cooperation plan has been fulfilled. According to the plan, these two amity groups exchanged delegations and special activists touring groups, staged pictorial exhibitions in each other's countries, and exchanged documentary films, books, and periodicals. We are pleased with our ties because they are conducive to exchanging experience, enhancing mutual understanding, and developing and consolidating the friendship between the Soviet and Chinese people. We hope our ties will further grow in the coming year. The Society's activities have convincingly shown that the Soviet people wholeheartedly support and endorse the policy of the Soviet party and government to develop friendly, good-neighborly, and cooperative relations with China. The Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society will continue to actively assist the implementation of the Soviet Union's Leninist policy toward China. The marked improvement in the bilateral relations has laid down fine prospects for furthering ties in various fields. This is the common aspiration of the Soviet and Chinese. Please allow me to once again extend new year's greetings to Chinese friends, wishing you happiness and good health in the coming year.

Dear Chinese friends, happy New Year!

Northeast Asia

CPSU Resolution on Soviet-MPR Enterprises

LD020950 Moscow TASS in English 0939 GMT
2 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 2 TASS—The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) has considered matters concerning the experience of cooperation at the joint Soviet-Mongolian enterprise Erdenet and the international scientific production association Robot and prospects for its development.

In a resolution on these matters the ministries and departments of the USSR are charged with the tasks of solving matters connected with further development and improvement of the operation of joint enterprises, and taking measures with a view to more fully and effectively

utilizing this advanced and promising form of cooperation with due regard for the experience gained by the internationalist personnel of the Erdenet enterprise and the Robot association.

Attention was drawn to the need to increase independence in the activities of joint enterprises in close conjunction with the principles of complete cost-accounting and self-financing.

It was recognized advisable to stimulate the work of the Robot association in the field of foreign economic relations in accordance with the requirements for improved activities in this direction in the new conditions of economic management.

Japanese Premier Fully Supports U.S. Policies

LD011737 Moscow TASS in English 1729 GMT
1 Jan 88

[Text] Tokyo January 1 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev:

Japanese Prime Minister Roboru Takeshita gave a New Year press conference at which he spoke about major objectives of his government's policies.

He described the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles as the first important step toward nuclear disarmament and relaxation of tensions in East-West relations.

Takeshita expressed his determination to contribute toward Japan's greater role in international affairs with a view to promoting peace and prosperity across the world.

He admitted, however, that he had "no specific proposals on nuclear disarmament".

The head of the Japanese Government voiced full support for the United States' politics and said relations with that country were the cornerstone of Japanese diplomacy.

The premier said the INF Treaty had paved way to good prerequisites for improved relations with the Soviet Union. However, it follows from his remarks that the new government, which came to power last November, has not changed Tokyo's official stand of laying claims to Soviet territory.

Okinawa Demonstrators Protest 'Security Treaty'

LD040953 Moscow TASS in English 0755 GMT
4 Jan 88

[Text] Tokyo January 4 TASS—A column of minibuses and cars with streamers "Down with Nukes", "Dismanle U.S. Military Facilities in Japan" surrounded the territory of the U.S. Marines air base Futenma near the

city of Ginowan on Okinawa. This peace action held on Sunday was aimed at abrogating the Japanese-American "security treaty" which chained Japan to the Pentagon's nuclear strategy.

Speaking at an impromptu rally, Masao Miyagi, activist of the peace movement, said that there were 86 servicemen at Futenma who were specialists in nuclear weapons. He called on the local public to step up the campaign for dismantling U.S. military bases on the Japanese isles.

Peace demonstrators in Ginowan chanted "nuclear units, away from Japanese soil", "form non-nuclear cabinet in Japan". They demanded observation of "non-nuclear principles" of Japan providing for a refusal to possess, produce and import nuclear weapons.

The newspaper "AKAHATA" writes today that 36 percent of all Japanese organs of local government—1,196 administrative units—took declarations against nuclear weapons, for peace. These are nine prefectures, 421 cities and districts and 766 villages. A total of 58 percent of the country's population live on their territories.

Japanese Businessman Interviewed on USSR Trade
*OW030448 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT
2 Jan 88*

[Khabarovsk dispatch entitled "Greeting the New Year"]

[Excerpts] Listeners, we have just greeted the new year of 1988. During the past year, 1987, the workers in the Soviet Far Eastern region further intensified their cooperation with the people of our neighboring country, Japan, and further promoted friendly and practical relations. In the second half of December last year, a delegation from Japan's Progress Trading Company visited the Soviet Far East. Our correspondents stationed there interviewed Kunihei Uematsu, an executive of the Progress Trading Company, before the delegation's departure for home. Here are Mr Uematsu's recorded remarks:

[Begin Uematsu recording] Our company is called the Progress Trading Company; in Japanese, this is Shinten Jitsugyou. It has been 40 years since our company was established. During this period, our company has engaged in trade solely with the Soviet Union. During these 4 decades, we have had various problems. As we are engaged in trade only with the Soviet Union, our business has been influenced by politics. In reviewing the past, I can say that we have never met with favorable political conditions. In this connection, we have engaged in our business with a feeling that there is nothing we can do but make our efforts under whatever conditions; that is, whether the relations with the Soviet Union have deteriorated or improved. As far as the Soviet Far East is concerned, we have engaged in extensive trade with this

region. In particular, we have been engaged in timber trade for a long time. In addition, we have engaged in trade of marine products, coal, minerals, and other products. [passage omitted]

The annual trade amounted to 400 million dollars last year, but we don't have the figure for this year yet. I think the amount for 1987 may have dropped a little bit compared with that of the previous year. However, roughly speaking, I think the amount is about the same.

The purpose of our visit this time is to study whether there is the possibility of starting a joint venture. We would like to start the business of repairing fishing boats as a preliminary step, and then to study whether it is possible to start a joint venture. In regard to our long relations with the Soviet Union—we have engaged in trade for 40 years now—we feel that our relationship has been satisfactory, and we hope that such a relationship can be continued in the future. [passage omitted]

Restructuring reforms in economic and other fields are being promoted in the Soviet Union now. I feel that perestroika is no longer a term exclusive to the Russian language, but it has become a term in the world language. In Japan, we just use the term restructuring. We plan to promote our restructuring so as to meet the needs of the reforms in the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

ROK Opposition Leader Calls for 'Alliance'
*LD302304 Moscow TASS in English 2244 GMT
30 Dec 87*

[Text] Tokyo December 30 TASS—TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev reports:

Chairman of the Democratic Party for Reunification Kim Yong-sam has called for establishing in South Korea a broad alliance of opposition forces to ensure victory at the next year elections to the National Assembly (parliament). Such an alliance "is absolutely necessary to have democracy", said the leader of the big opposition party of South Korea. He spoke in Seoul at the cemetery, the burial place for democracy fighters who lost their lives during the April 19, 1960 popular uprising which put an end to the rule of the U.S. placeman dictator Syngman Rhee.

Kim Yong-sam accused another prominent leader of the anti-government movement, Kim Tae-chung, of having split the ranks of the opposition, by forming his own party—the party of peace and democracy and nominating his candidature to run at the December 16 presidential elections in South Korea.

It is exactly lack of unity in the opposition camp that was mainly responsible for its defeat at the presidential elections. Even according to official data, which the opposition considers rigged, over 54 per cent of the electors who went to the polls cast their votes for the

"two Kims", whereas only 36 per cent of the votes were cast for the ruling regime's candidate, retired General No Tae-u who was announced the winner of the elections.

USSR Journalist Relates Visit to Korea's DMZ
PM011555 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian
22 Dec 87 p 3

[Dispatch by own special correspondent K. Mezentsev: "Traveling Through the DPRK. 'Such a Day Will Come'"; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] A delegation of Soviet journalists visited the DPRK in October and November at the invitation of the country's press committee. The delegation included Konstantin Mezentsev, observer in our newspaper's international department, whose travel notes we publish today.

Pyongyang-Moscow—There are no traffic lights in Pyongyang, although their installation has already started. For the time being, however, they are not linked up within an integrated system for controlling the traffic, which daily becomes heavier. All the city's motor vehicle transport is regulated by traffic controllers. Pretty, dark-eyed young girls dressed in smartly tailored uniforms standing at the intersections instantly sort out the most difficult situations and direct cars in the desired direction with regulation efficiency and at the same time a kind of exquisite grace.

Our 9-hour flight from Moscow was over. A black Mercedes-220, not one of the latest models, true, but impressive and carefully looked after all the same, sped us through the broad, bright avenues of the DPRK capital. I would note that there are few Soviet Volgas and Zhigulis and an increasing number of Mercedes, Volvos, and Nissans.

This handsome multistory city, albeit well known through magazines, postcards, and photographs, is a pleasant surprise. Usually the glossiness of photographs embellishes reality. Here, in Pyongyang, however, you really begin to appreciate modern architectural taste. You see that it is possible to build the same prefabricated, roughcast concrete 9-16-story apartment buildings without thereby disfiguring the landscape but, on the contrary, making skillful use of the natural hills and rises. Each of the colorful residential areas is a little different from its neighbor, despite the actual buildings being identical. And yet for all this, the apartment blocks, whether viewed separately or taken as a whole, are in pure Korean style. National features of Korea, of ancient Choson, are scattered throughout every architectural structure.

There are few old quarters in Pyongyang. During the war that the DPRK waged against crack imperialist forces headed by the United States the whole of the old city was destroyed by bombing. It is estimated that one bomb was dropped for every one of its inhabitants. Looking at

modern, marvelously clean, comfortable Pyongyang from a 150-meter-high viewing platform you fall to thinking about what great efforts were made by the people and the party to raise the DPRK capital, and indeed the whole of this marvelous and distinctive country from the postwar ruins.

It seems necessary to me, albeit briefly, to outline the main events of Korea's recent history, since they provide the key to an understanding of many of today's realities in the country. [passage omitted]

After returning to Moscow from my assignment I took some very yellowed, 37-year-old files of PRAVDA out of the archives. Each issue contained a report on events at the Korean War fronts. They describe the enormous political, material, military, and moral assistance the Soviet people were giving to their DPRK brothers. The walls of many Soviet homes prominently displayed detailed maps of the Korean peninsula with little red flags marking the successes of the Korean People's Army and the Chinese volunteer contingent which had come to help its neighbor. Tens of thousands of Soviet citizens, like my father, beseeched the military commissariat to send them as volunteers to defend the young DPRK.

The people of the DPRK remember this keenly. For them the war is not at all a matter of history. There are no hostilities today, but the ancient country is divided. The reinforced concrete wall erected by the South Korean side along the demarcation line is like an assassin's knife embedded in the body of the peninsula. This deep wound does not heal with the years but bleeds and suppurates with conflicts and tension. And could it be otherwise? Forty million brothers languish in the South under the yoke of puppet military regimes and their U.S. patrons. Not a single DPRK citizen—from the president of the Republic down to the simple peasant Kim Kun-ha, who works in the Kariski cooperative [name as published], near Pyongyang—forgets this for a moment.

...We arrived in the city of Kaesong early in the morning after spending the night in the train we had taken from Pyongyang's Central Station. Kaesong was once the capital of medieval Korean feudal states. Historical monuments in Kaesong—a 13th century buddhist monastery and burial grounds—are lovingly tended. But Kaesong is best known for the fact that the 4-kilometer Demilitarized Zone of Panmunjom is located in its environs, environs highly suited to the cultivation of Ginseng, the root of life. Here the confrontation of the two sides—the DPRK and the United States—can literally be seen with the naked eye.

"When you enter the territory of Panmunjom," our guides—interpreter Kim In-kon and delegation head So Te-chun—explained, "you have to take precautions. Every appearance by delegations and journalists is photographed from the other side, classified, and then ends up in secret files and on card indexes in America..."

Only then did we notice that our companions had put on dark glasses and had carefully covered the car license plates with a piece of cardboard. It is probably because of these minor details that the atmosphere of tension prevailing in the contact zone became more palpable to us. I at once remembered the strict passport control which everyone arriving in Kaesong by the morning train with us had undergone.

"Allow me to introduce myself. I am Captain Yi Kon-sop. I will be accompanying you through Panmunjom." That is how we were greeted at the headquarters by this smiling young officer.

We visited this notable spot's museum, the building where the talks were held and the armistice signed, and sat at the historic table. The whole war was laid out before us in documents, photographs, and other exhibits. The blanket bombing of peaceful DPRK cities, germ warfare, and napalm. Following World War II Korea was the first testing ground for the Pentagon, where it tried out all its latest weapons under real conditions. Few people remember this but plans to carry out nuclear strikes against the DPRK had already been drawn up! We listened to our guides' stories and, to be honest, they were so out of keeping with the russet-golden beauty of the fall landscape, the bright sun, and the blue sky that we did not want to believe anything bad. Yet when we went to the spot where DPRK soldiers and hefty Americans with MP on their helmets stand across from one another, separated by 15 meters, I frankly felt ill at ease, and Capt Yi Kon-sop and our other guide, also a captain, were clearly concerned for our safety. When, through journalistic habit, I began to photograph the American soldiers I noticed that I was being carefully studied through a stereoscopic telescope from the observation tower opposite...

The soldiers of the DPRK Army are daily aware of this physical danger.

"Aren't you afraid serving here?"—I later asked the two officers over a cup of green tea.

"Why no. We are already used to it. Although acts of provocation from the South are common. They parachute spies and saboteurs in at night or send them by sea. They fire in our direction. Launches are sent into our territorial waters on spying missions. But most important, after all, is the fact that modern U.S. nuclear military bases are located here, just a few kilometers south of the Demarcation Line."

"And how do you view the Soviet Union's struggle for nuclear disarmament?" we asked.

"Korean servicemen greatly value and enthusiastically support the decision of the USSR and the United States to eliminate intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. This makes an enormous contribution to improving the international atmosphere," Capt Yi Kon-sop said.

"If the United States follows the Soviet Union's example in the struggle to reduce international tension," his colleague joins in, "this could result first in nuclear disarmament in South Korea and then the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from there. Although I personally believe the struggle will be long and hard, I am certain that such a day will come! Then we will finally have created the conditions facilitating the independent, peaceful, and democratic unification of our beloved motherland."

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Ties With SRV in 1987, Chebrikov Visit Viewed
BK030455 Moscow International Service in Vietnamese
1000 GMT 31 Dec 87

[Station commentator (Georgiy Ramastikov) commentary]

[Text] The Soviet people are pleased with the outcome of the official friendship visit to Vietnam of Comrade Chebrikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Soviet State Security Committee. During Comrade Chebrikov's meetings and talks with Comrades Nguyen Van Linh and Pham Hung and with other Vietnamese leaders, many issues related to bilateral relations as well as international life were discussed.

What is the significance of these visits and talks between high-level representatives of our two parties and states? Relations between the Soviet Union and Vietnam encompass all aspects of social and political life. Millions of Soviet and Vietnamese citizens have taken part in various activities related to this domain. In this complex and important cause, there have emerged issues that call for discussion and settlement at the upper level of the party and state. In the year that is about to pass, a series of visits was exchanged between the leaders of our two countries, during which the new successes of Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation were affirmed and Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation in the international arena was coordinated.

First of all, we would like to recall Comrade Nguyen Van Linh's visit to the Soviet Union in May. His talks with Comrade Gorbachev took place in the spirit of deep trust and complete identity of views on all socioeconomic development issues and on Soviet and Vietnamese foreign policies. Everyone knows our two countries are at different levels of development. But, as Comrade Gorbachev put it at his meeting with Comrade Nguyen Van Linh, in spite of this, today the Soviet and Vietnamese Communists share the same watch words: renovation and restructuring. However, not everything in our economic relations is in tune with the new situation. The two sides reached a common view: The structure and form of cooperation should be brought closer to today's demands, and we must ensure that the efficiency of cooperation is basically elevated. The talks between Comrades Gorbachev and Nguyen Van Linh achieved

concrete results. Agreements on separate directions [phuwowng huwowngs rieeng] in our cooperation were signed; a policy was adopted to set up joint industrial and agricultural enterprises; and the decision was made to broaden Soviet cooperation with and assistance to Vietnam in the training and improvement of cadres.

This year's commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution was an international event. The Vietnamese delegation's participation in the Moscow celebrations and Comrade Nguyen Van Linh's speech at a meeting in the Kremlin once again reflected the close solidarity between our two peoples and their loyalty to the ideals proclaimed by the October Revolution. On the forum of the Kremlin's Palace of Congress, Comrade Nguyen Van Linh declared: Consolidation and development of friendship, militant solidarity, and all-around cooperation with the Soviet Union is the cornerstone of Vietnam's foreign policy.

Our countries have unequivocally and thoroughly coordinated their activities in the international arena. On this matter, we can cite as examples such as Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit to Vietnam last March, and Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach's recent visit to Moscow in December. We have unity of views on international issues such as checking the arms race, banning nuclear weapons tests, and demilitarizing space. In the recent visit of Comrade Chebrikov, it was clearly pointed out that the success of Comrade Gorbachev's talks in Washington as reflected in the signing of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles was the direct outcome of the coordinated actions of the socialist countries, and of our solidarity and thoroughgoing struggle for the implementation of the disarmament program.

The Soviet Union and Vietnam share the same views even on regional issues. The Soviet leaders have on several occasions declared full support for Vietnam's policy aimed at transforming Southeast Asia into a region of peace and cooperation. During Comrade Chebrikov's talks in Hanoi, the two sides voiced support for the Cambodian Government's national reconciliation policy.

Mutual exchanges of experience have contributed to significantly accelerating our two countries' advance on the path to progress. This was one of the main tasks of the Soviet and Vietnamese delegations that have exchanged visits this year. A CPSU delegation led by Comrade Biryukova, secretary of the party Central Committee, went to Vietnam last March. In September, Le Quang Dao, Chairman of the Vietnamese National Assembly, visited Moscow and several other Soviet cities.

The organization of Soviet Cultural Days in Vietnam in December, with the participation of a Soviet delegation led by Culture Minister Zakharov, was an important event. As the Vietnamese comrades saw them, these days

were truly festive days for thousands of residents in various Vietnamese cities and provinces, as well as for the Soviet writers, artists, and painters who took part in them.

Fraternity, mutual understanding, and both sides' concern for further improvement of our relations are terms that can be used to describe the atmosphere surrounding the talks and exchanges between the Soviet and Vietnamese envoys. These dialogues are a potent moving force to propel the development of Soviet-Vietnamese relations in the coming year.

SRV Premier Greet Workers of Joint Project

*LD031541 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1200 GMT 3 Jan 88*

[Tety] Pham Hung, member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, has addressed a greetings message to the collective of the construction workers of the Chian GES, which is being constructed in the south of Vietnam with the help and technical assistance of the Soviet Union. On 31 December 1987, tests were carried out successfully of the first power unit of the GES. This important labor victory, Pham Hung's telegram points out, is the product of intense, selfless labor by the harmonious collective of the Vietnamese construction workers and Soviet specialists, and an effective result of international cooperation between the two fraternal countries.

Chairman of Nationalities Receives SRV Envoy

BK011556 Hanoi VNA in English 1457 GMT 1 Jan 88

[Text] Hanoi VNA Jan 1—Nguyen Manh Cam, Vietnamese ambassador to the Soviet Union on Dec 31 handed to A.E. Voss, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities the Dec 29 statement of the National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam [SRV] acclaiming and supporting the Soviet-US Treaty on Eliminating Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Nuclear Missiles. A.E. Voss highly appreciated the above-said statement, considering it a concrete expression of the solidarity and cooperation between the National Assembly of the SRV and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR as well as between the peoples of Vietnam and the Soviet Union in the struggle for a world without nuclear weapons and for peace, friendship and security of mankind.

Philippine Elections Accompanied by Violence

*LD041414 Moscow TASS in English 1329 GMT
4 Jan 88*

[Text] Manila January 4 (TASS)—A campaign of preparations for an election to local government bodies due to be held this month in the Philippines is accompanied by numerous acts of violence. According to official

statistics, 48 people have been killed by terrorists since December 1, last year. About half of them are candidates at the coming election both from the ruling party and the opposition.

The situation is especially tense in the south of the country, in the Zamboanga peninsula, the Negros Island and central Luzon. Private armies made up of deserter soldiers, criminals and declassée people and financed by local politicians are actively operating there. In a number of provinces they act together with the so-called 'vigilance' groups—organizations of ultra-right-wing anti-communist forces. They jointly persecute progressively-minded and democracy-oriented candidates.

A certain F. Nepomuseno, former mayor of the city of Angeles which borders on the territory of the Clark field base, is one of those who use extremists in the electoral campaign. According to the local press, Nepomuseno received a major share of the money for the formation of 'vigilance' groups from the command of the base seeking to prevent the election to the municipal council of Angeles of those who do not suit them.

Near East & South Asia

U.S. Secretary of Defense Departs on Gulf Tour

LD041230 Moscow TASS in English 1112 GMT
4 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 4 TASS—U.S. Defence Secretary Frank Carlucci has left for an eight-day tour of Persian Gulf countries to include Kuwait, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and Oman.

The Pentagon chief will meet with the state leaders and the command of American troops stationed in the area. He will visit U.S. naval ships operating in the Persian Gulf.

Many American observers and analysts in Persian Gulf countries predict that more U.S. naval forces will be concentrated in the Gulf region following Carlucci's trip.

At present, the U.S. keeps in the region 30 warships. According to an official policy, the CBS television network commented, the United States provided escort only for ships flying the American flag.

The U.S. seems to be gradually expanding the boundaries of the political guideline by increasing, according to one diplomat, the likelihood of an incident.

On Saturday, American cruiser was stopped following two foreign tankers, one flying the Japanese flag and the other the Liberian flag. [sentence as received] Associated Press observed that, according to diplomatic sources, such actions heralded a decision to be officially announced by Carlucci during his stay in the region.

An official Pentagon spokesman asserted on Sunday that the reports about the U.S. intention to expand its operations in the Persian Gulf were groundless.

AP quoted diplomats as saying that such a step on the part of the U.S. would have the aim of preventing the implementation of the Soviet proposal for sending a U.N. force into the Persian Gulf to replace foreign warships and safeguard freedom of navigation.

THE NEW YORK TIMES said that the Reagan Administration was opposed to use of a U.N. force in the Gulf because it feared that Congress would invoke the law on war powers to bring home American warships and personnel. Many Americans would approve of such a step by Congress, the paper observed.

Shevardnadze Departs for Afghanistan 4 Jan

LD041220 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1200 GMT 4 Jan 88

[Text] Comrade Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs, left today for the Republic of Afghanistan on a working visit. At the airport he was seen off by Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the CPSU Moscow Gorkom. The send-off included Safi, Afghan ambassador to the USSR.

On the same day Comrade Shevardnadze arrived in Kabul.

Embassy Receives Petition Protesting Afghan War

LD022117 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish
2100 GMT 2 Jan 88

[Text] The Soviet Embassy in Stockholm has decided to receive a delegation that will hand over a petition that was signed by 50,000 people protesting the war in Afghanistan. It is very unusual for Soviet embassies to receive groups protesting Soviet policies. Last Sunday, on the eighth anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the delegation was refused admittance.

Further on Afghan Fighting for Khowst Road

TV Reports Fighting

LD012011 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 1 Jan 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] If you recall, in yesterday's program we promised to show you a report from our correspondent in Afghanistan on the successful combat operation to break the blockade on the town of Khowst. Here it is:

[Begin recording] [Mikhail Leshchinskiy] Combat operations are now continuing in the extensive and barely accessible mountainous region near the Afghan-Pakistani border. Overcoming fierce armed resistance and minefields, the troops are seeking out and destroying the bases, arsenals of weapons, and ammunition dumps concealed in the mountains. Everywhere there are new and incontrovertible indications of foreign intervention—from trademarks on medicine and the personal possessions of the Western advisers to these, the most up-to-date types of arms and ammunition, which were discovered in the headquarters of Jalalludin, who was declared supreme commander in chief of all the armed groups operating in this part of Afghanistan. [video shows military vehicles, soldiers, war materiel]

Among this ammunition and arms, we found this. [video shows Leshchinskiy holding up to the camera a thin box, roughly the size of a pencil case, colored mainly green and blue. In between sections of writing in (?Dari) are the English words "thick sticks," while at one end is a Nazi-type swastika, black on a white background. Leshchinskiy removes what turns out to be a sparkler firework and indicates the swastika]

As you can see, someone was intending to celebrate Christmas in a merry fashion. They are sparklers, but just have a look at the emblem. This swastika speaks volumes about the inhabitants of this base.

There was a photograph, too, of the group that had gathered here to have a good time. In spite of the national dress, it is not hard to grasp that the men and women here are Europeans. The dedication in French testifies to this. [Video shows a glossy color photograph of five men and women gathered outside a door. All of them are wearing Afghan costume, including one in a turban. They all appear swarthy. On the reverse of the photo is written in French "For Muhammad Archam, also known as" with the remaining words indistinct; Leshchinskiy then goes to interview F.A. Klintsevich, identified as a captain. They are shown standing against the background of a building]

[Leshchinskiy] Comrade Captain, as far as I know in this, the base area, more than one rebel ammunition dump has been discovered.

[Klintsevich] Yes, very many dumps have been discovered here. All these dumps are well-equipped, in the engineering sense. They have been dug out of the cliffs. All the dumps have iron doors with locks and so on. In particular, this building that we see [video shows Klintsevich pointing to the building behind him] is one of the base buildings, where Jalalludin, one of the leaders, is, or rather always was to direct the battle operations. [an explosion is heard in the distance]

[Leshchinskiy] Tell me, can you put a figure on the amount of ammunition and arms?

[Klintsevich] Right, because as you can see there is constant shooting going on here, we cannot make an exact tally, but I can say the figure is in the thousands. That is, thousands of rounds of ammunition, thousands of mines, rocket shells. [an explosion is again heard] There, you can see the fighting is going on and the enemy is trying to...

[Leshchinskiy, interrupting] They are trying to take the dumps.

[Klintsevich] Yes, subunits of our unit have completely blocked the way and are giving us the chance to carry out an evacuation, blowing up, and work in this region. We were here yesterday. The area was okay. Today we came back and found dumps. We found that the enemy had again been in this area today. Just look...[video shows Klintsevich pointing at another half-ruined building]

[Leshchinskiy, interrupting] That is, right on your heels...

[Klintsevich] Yes, on our heels. So, this dump housed ammunition, various uniforms of theirs, and so on. All that has been burned...

[Leshchinskiy, interrupting] [words indistinct]. I see. Thank you. [end recording]

'Siege' Lifted on Khowst

*LD010033 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian
1350 GMT 31 Dec*

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Kabul December 31 TASS—By TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin:

The operation to lift the siege of Khowst, a city in eastern Afghanistan, launched by Afghan and Soviet troops in November, has been successfully completed.

Counter-revolutionary gangs that for nearly nine years controlled a mountain road linking Khowst with the administrative centre of Paktia Province, Gardeyz, were routed and pushed away from the strategic highway.

A first convoy of food has arrived in Khowst.

The operation was held in two stages. At the first stage, Afghan Army units, backed by Soviet troops, penetrated through two lines of defence manned by dushmans (as counter-revolutionaries are called in Afghanistan) and captured the Satau Kandau Pass.

Hostilities were then suspended in keeping with a decision of Loya Jirgah, [Grand Assembly] held in Kabul at that time, in order to find a peaceful solution to the conflict between the government and armed units of the extremist Pashtun tribe of Jadran.

The secretary of Paktia's Committee of the PDPA, Anwar, described to the TASS correspondent the causes of the conflict and attempts to settle it:

"The Jadran tribe, numbering about 120,000 people, was always opposed to the central authorities in Afghanistan. Following the April revolution, anti-government sentiments in the tribe, intensified under the influence of hostile propaganda.

Armed units sealed the road between Gardeyz and Khowst which crossed the tribal area, preventing the government from providing the Khowst region's population with food and goods.

Two years ago, power in the tribe was seized by Mullah Jalalluddin, a stooge of counter-revolutionary leader Yunis Khalis. Jalalluddin established virtual dictatorship in the tribe, dealing ruthlessly with anyone who showed readiness for compromise with the authorities.

The Jadran area was literally stuffed with arms and munitions, which were sent from there to gangs operating in various parts of the country.

Proceeding from principles of humanism, it was decided to eliminate the counter-revolutionary stronghold around the road to Khowst. Most vigorous attempts were being made to agree with Jadrans on the platform of national reconciliation: Letters were sent to the tribe and to Jalalluddin personally, truce envoys were sent.

Nevertheless, talks failed to bring about any results before the operation and during the twenty-day ceasefire between its second stage.

The counter-revolutionaries in fact rejected the negotiations, a step inspired, according to available information, by the leaders of Afghan rebel groups based in Pakistan."

A group of Soviet journalists, in Gardeyz to cover the course and completion of the operation, arrived to a command post of Afghan and Soviet troops on Satau Kandau on December 28.

By that time, we were told by spokesman of the Afghan Command General Imamuddin, only ten kilometres separated units marching from Gardeyz and Khowst. The remaining 100 kilometres of the highway had already been cleared of bandits and mines had been removed.

The dushmans lost up to 2,000 men killed and wounded during the fighting, Imamuddin said. Large quantities of weapons and munitions, food and medicines were captured.

The extremists, taking advantage of the 20-day ceasefire, had removed from their depots at least half of weapons, being aware that lengthy resistance would be impossible, the Afghan general observed.

Asked about the quantity of arms seized, Imamuddin said that no precise figures were as yet known. Information was being added up. What was known was the number of rocket projectiles—100,000, shells for mountain anti-air guns—300,000, fire-arms cartridges—more than two million.

Retreating, the dushmans left behind tens of rocket launchers, recoilless field-guns, SAM's, heavy and light machine-guns.

We had an opportunity to travel along the cleared road and visit one of the strongholds of Jalalluddin's group, Sharanah. On approaching Sharanah, we were struck by the number of caves and individual structures housing depots of the bandits.

Dust and cold were the strongest impression from the 40-km journey on top of an armored vehicle along the twisting mountain route. Every kilometer or two we encountered Afghan or Soviet posts, "road blocks" guarding the road: the clearing of areas adjoining the road is still continuing. At roughly the halfway point we saw a bulldozer blocking the road and Afghan soldiers carrying spades and crowbars. A regiment of engineers and sappers was engaged in repairing the road along which trucks carrying goods for Khowst were due to pass. We were told by senior Captain (Aziz ul-Haq), who was directing the work, the sappers were filling the shell craters and putting up supporting walls. In recent days, he said, the regiment has restored 34 sections of the road, rendered 1750 mines harmless, and removed 17,000 cu.m. of earth from blockages.

After we had travelled approximately 1 and 1/2 hours we were met by a representative of a Soviet unit controlling the Saran area. "While previously you have been travelling along a totally safe route," Major N. A. Samusev said, "we now are turning to the right off the road towards Saran. Things are still tense there. After 1400 hours, when the sun is shining into our eyes, the dushmans beginning shelling the regiment's position with rocket projectiles. You need to be careful."

Approaching Saran, we were struck by the number of caves and individual structures housing the stores of the bandit formations. The contents of many of them had been taken away towards the Pakistan border, and some underground stores had been blown up. Along the road there were broken cars, bulldozers, and even armored personnel carriers belonging to the bandits. Here, too, there was shrapnel from rocket bursts. "The dushmans launched them from the range over there," our guide said, pointing. "They do not spare rockets; the supplies from Pakistan are steady. Pakistani troops remain

deployed along the border to intercept remnants of counterrevolutionary gangs fleeing Afghan territory. We found this out from intercepted radio messages."

Having learned about the forthcoming arrival of journalists, the servicemen of this forward battalion had collected samples of weapons that had been seized in recent days. Lying near the soldiers' tents in a pile were machin-guns, grenade launchers, rocket projectiles, and mines.

"You must hurry if you want to see the house where the headquarters of Jalalluddin himself was situated," the journalists were told by N. A. Samusev. It turns out that several days ago this house and the stores located there had been discovered by a reconnaissance group.

The first few kilometers along the ravine where Jalalluddin's house, a hospital, and dozens of stores are located, we covered in an armored vehicle. We stopped outside the dushmans' hospital, it being dangerous to go any further on the armored vehicle, since the mines have not yet been swept. The counterrevolutionaries had evacuated all the hospital's personnel to Pakistan. However, they had not had time to take away the medical supplies, instruments, and equipment. Around the house where the hospital was located, the field doctor said, the most efficient and up-to-date medicines lay on the ground. On the requisition forms, packages of tablets, and dressings was written: "Made in France," "Made in Britain," and "Made in the USA"... We also found several books, mainly in French. On one of them was written: "I wish Max a successful fulfillment of his mission in Afghanistan. Abdul Husayn". It also had the signature of, to all appearances, the first owner of the book, "Faysal Rahman, a relative of Jalalluddin." We were shown photographs that had been discovered in the hospital. One of them depicted a man and a woman, Europeans in Afghan national dress. Another showed dushmans in U.S.-made gas masks.

Much property had been moved toward the Pakistani border.

We walked three and half kilometres to Jalalluddin's headquarters, following one another's steps. We came to a building from where the "commander-in-chief of all mujahid forces in Paktia" sent out his orders.

The title had been given to Jalalluddin by the leaders of Afghan counter-revolutionary formations from the so-called alliance of the seven. The commander of the 8,500-strong bandit unit fled to Pakistan.

The house looked quite ordinary. A plaque pinned at the entrance read: "centre." Nearby there were two caves, used as depots. According to intelligence agents, many munitions, including American mines, were found for the first time. They bore the year of manufacture—1987.

Weapons, including hollow charge projectiles for grenade-launchers, ball and mercury grenades, rocket projectiles of several types, modern optical devices for machine-guns and mountain guns, and mines of all calibres, were placed at the entrance to one of the caves.

All the weapons were manufactured in the West. Crates from Stinger and Blowpipe rockets were also found near the depot. The rockets had probably been carried away by dushmans.

Unfortunately, we did not manage to view the trophies in more detail. We had been ordered to leave the dangerous zone, since the shelling was due to start shortly. Returning after dark to Satau Kandau, we saw in the mountains along the road the lights of scores of campfires. Standing around them in the cold evening the defenders of the highway were warming themselves.

On the following day, when we visited the command post again, a report came: "The road has been cleared throughout." The first convoy left Gardeyz for Khowst at 6 a.m. on December 30. It was welcomed by Khowst residents in the afternoon on the same day.

General Imamuddin, who became our good acquaintance, said, "The operation is over. We are now to find and destroy the last dushman depots and secure safe traffic between Gardeyz and Khowst as individual extremist groups may try to attack convoys."

The dushmans, the general said, quoting intercepted radio messages, boasted that they still controlled the road. "But you have seen everything for yourselves, having covered most of the highway. As to losses, I can say the following: Fewer than one hundred Afghan soldiers were killed throughout the period of the fighting. The Soviet friends had minimum losses, too."

The blockade of Khowst has finally been lifted. Nearly 24,000 tons of necessary commodities, including food and oil products, will be delivered to the city within a month.

'Minimal Losses' Sustained

*LD021742 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 2 Jan 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Unidentified announcer] The major operation by Soviet and Afghan troops against extremist armed groups aimed at lifting the blockade on the strategically important district and city of Khowst is coming to an end in eastern Afghanistan.

[Begin recording] [Video shows decorated Christmas tree, then cuts to M. Leshchinskiy] [Leshchinskiy] This elegant Christmas tree in this Soviet observation post located high in the mountains seems to be a New Year's greeting from the motherland which found its way here by some miracle.

Many of our soldiers greeted the new year on mountain heights taken in combat, in ambushes on the route to rebel base areas and secret arsenals, and on armored personnel carriers patrolling the liberated roads leading to Khowst. For 9 years in this exact place extremist groups belonging to the Jadran tribe held this line of defense. The leaders of the counterrevolution and their Western patrons laid very great hopes on these groups. As you can see here, fortified areas have been set up. Everywhere around here was mined, and there, down below, the serpentine line, is the road to Khowst. [video follows the direction in which Leshchinskiy points to show the road, then of trucks passing along it.]

Hundreds of trucks carrying food and essential items for the inhabitants of the city have already passed along this road. This is the main result of the important combat operation. [video shows helicopter then Leshchinskiy interviewing Soviet colonel]

[Leshchinskiy] Comrade Colonel, Various Western radios are now seeking to assert that Soviet and Afghan soldiers have borne large losses here. What can you say on that score?

[A.D. Turlays—identified by caption] I can only say one thing, namely that the combat skills of the Afghan Army have grown significantly in recent years and that we are bearing minimal losses in these combat operations. [end recording]

Fighting Ends, Convoy Arrives

*LD041102 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0348 GMT 4 Jan 88*

[Text] [Announcer] This morning I spoke on the telephone with our Kabul correspondent Aleksandr Shkirando, who provided details of the military operation to open the Gardeyz-Khowst Road in southeast Afghanistan, which has strategic importance. The operation has ended. Despite the obviousness of this fact, Western media, including the BBC and VOA, are making allegations to the contrary. Therefore, I decided to ask an eyewitness. Aleksandr, what is the current situation in the Khowst region?

[Begin recording] [Shkirando] Yes, the operation was completed successfully. Thanks to expert and heroic actions by the Afghan Army and active support from the limited contingent of Soviet troops, the last stronghold of Afghan extremist gangs in the (?Surin) region has fallen. The 40,000-strong, cold-and hunger-stricken population of the Khowst district at last felt relief on learning about the routing of the gangs led by Jalalluddin, one of the

irreconcilable enemies of the Afghan people, a member of the leadership of the (Khalistan Islamic Party), an anti-Afghan organization. According to some reports, he is seriously wounded and is in the hospital in Pakistan. The routing of these gangs and the opening of the Gardeyz-Khowst road has lifted the military and economic siege on Khowst district. Here is what (Najibullah), senior captain in the Afghan Ministry of Defense, who returned recently from that district, told me.

[Najibullah in Dari with Shkirando providing superimposed Russian paraphrase] By today, Senior Captain (Najibullah) says, the fourth convoy has arrived in Khowst. It delivered food and necessary goods to the population, namely, wheat, rice, wool, sugar, soap, fuel, cloth, and some other items. Thanks to this aid, food prices started to gradually fall. The residents of Khowst meet these peace convoys with great joy and gratitude. It is thanks to them precisely that normal life will be restored here, said Najibullah, senior captain from the Afghan Ministry of Defense.

[Shkirando] In addition to what Senior Captain (Najibullah) said, I would like to note that by now the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan has developed a number of serious measures aimed at restoring normal, peaceful life in the Khowst district. As 'Amanuddin Amin, vice chairman of the Afghan Council of Ministers, said yesterday delegations will be sent shortly to Khowst to determine on the spot ways to resolve problems in education, health care, construction, and other areas. Thus, the elimination of one of the largest counterrevolutionary bases is complete and peace has been restored in the eastern district of Khowst, situated at the Pakistan border.

The successful completion of the military operation in that region fully debunked the myth of the invincibility of Jalalluddin's gangs, which have mistreated the local population for years. Neither U.S. Stingers, British Blowpipes, nor foreign advisers could help those gangs. Of course, it is painful for the overseas patrons to realize that yet another bridgehead for conducting the undeclared war against Afghanistan has been lost. That is why they are trying to prove in the media that the mujahedin—the so-called faith fighters—are still fighting in the Khowst region, but the real situation is the opposite. [end recording]

Fifth Convoy Arrives in Khowst

*LD040737 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0700 GMT 4 Jan 88*

[Text] The fifth convoy of vehicles with freight for the population has arrived in the Afghan town of Khowst with 1,300 hundred tons of food and goods. There were 210 trucks in the convoy.

For almost 9 years the Khowst region was encircled by counterrevolutionary groups, but recently Afghan troops supported by Soviet units routed the Dushmans.

Western news agencies, the Voice of America and BBC radio stations have been forced to acknowledge the fact of the defeat of the bandits in the Khowst region.

Afghans Continue Investigating Arrested German
*LD022042 Moscow TASS in English 2022 GMT
2 Jan 88*

[Text] Kabul January 2 TASS—A BAKHTAR news agency correspondent and representatives of Afghan competent bodies have met with Osman Demir, a West German citizen of the Turkish origin, [who] was earlier arrested for subversive activities in Afghanistan.

As established by preliminary investigation, Osman Demir had lived in West Germany for 11 years, where he finished secondary school, and was recruited by the West German secret services in 1982. He is lieutenant.

In 1986 and 1987 he illegally crossed the Afghan border as a member of counterrevolutionary formations. There, he officially performed functions of an instructor in training counterrevolutionaries to handle the Stinger and Blowpipe anti-aircraft missile launchers. His main tasks were to collect military and other secret data as well as to recruit Afghan and Pakistani citizens for the West German intelligence service.

Demir has handed over to Afghan security services letters, addresses and phone numbers of those people and provided information disclosing West Germany's spying activities in Afghanistan.

The investigation continues.

TASS Sees U.S. 'Drawn Into' Afghanistan
*LD301051 Moscow TASS in English 1013 GMT
30 Dec 87*

[Leonid Ponomarev analysis]

[Text] Moscow December 30 TASS—TASS news analyst Leonid Ponomarev writes:

The report that a U.S. adviser has been identified among the killed during an operation by the Afghan armed forces to clear Khowst District of counter-revolutionaries brings to mind the pictures of how the USA had got drawn into the "dirty war" in Vietnam.

At that time everything had begun with the sending of the so-called U.S. military advisers to Vietnam. The advisers had then moved on from "instructing" and "exercising direction" over combat operations to a direct involvement in military actions on the side of the puppet Saigon regime.

The emergence of U.S. "advisers" in the territory of Afghanistan among extremist groups adds a new and highly dangerous element to the U.S. policy of the undeclared war against the Afghan people.

Until recently, as is clear from a report by the BAKHTAR news agency, several hundred U.S. advisers operated mainly on Pakistani territory as instructors at special centres for combat and terrorist training of counter-revolutionaries. There are already more than 120 such centres near Afghanistan's borders.

Philip Bonosky, the author of the book "Washington's Secret War Against Afghanistan", writes that U.S. and British mercenaries began to arrive in Pakistan in March 1980. Since then agents of Western countries, including the United States, have been making systematic attempts at penetrating Afghan territory among counter-revolutionary groups under the guise of physicians, journalists, TV cameramen, and so on. Two U.S. citizens were killed in a gunbattle in Qandahar Province in September 1985.

The name of one of them became known later—Thornton. In the U.S. "NEW BREED" magazine, a certain Shannon admitted that he had penetrated Afghan territory three times together with counter-revolutionary groups and that together with him had been another four mercenaries who had earlier operated in Mozambique and Angola.

Those are far from being tourists or reporter's trips.

Sa'id Kasem and Gul Rahman, counter-revolutionaries who had been captured by Afghan troops during one of operations, related at a press conference in Kabul that at the bidding of U.S. advisers, bandits wearing the uniform of Afghan and Soviet Army servicemen had attacked peaceful villages, Alisangi village in Paktia Province, in particular.

CIA agent Barry repeatedly participated in counter-revolutionary raids to shoot scenes of murders allegedly committed by the Afghan Army.

In Yahchal village of Helmand Province, bandits wearing the uniform of Afghan servicemen slaughtered all inhabitants and burned down all houses to help Barry to shoot the needed scenes.

U.S. advisers' direct involvement in the counter-revolutionaries' combat operations on Afghan territory is fraught with a serious threat of irreversible escalation of bloodshed on Afghan soil. This contradicts the U.S. Administration's verbal assurances that it is in favour of a political settlement.

Commentary on Foreign Aid to Afghan Rebels
*LD310317 Moscow in English to North America
2300 GMT 30 Dec 87*

[Vladislav Kozyakov commentary]

[Text] Units of the Afghan Army, backed by Soviet troops, have broken the blockade of the city of Khowst. Our commentary is by Vladislav Kozyakov, here is what he writes:

The operation to break the blockade was a forced measure undertaken to help the city's population of 40,000 in their plight. The counterrevolutionaries blocked shipments of food and other goods to the city, and shot down transport and passenger planes using American Stinger missiles. Besides, they rejected all proposals from the Afghan Government to settle the issue peacefully. The operation to restore communications between the city on the border with Pakistan and the rest of the country has further revealed the nature of the current war. In fact the city was besieged by army units formed, equipped, and trained with the help of the United States.

Such units are formed on Pakistani territory with the help of a number of countries, and yet the key role is played by the United States. According to THE WASHINGTON POST, the Afghan counterrevolutionaries have received \$3 billion in arms and ammunition from the CIA and the Pentagon. Only in the first days of the operation to lift the blockade, the Afghan Army captured and destroyed five sets of Stinger missiles, dozens of machine guns, mortars, launching mechanisms for surface-to-surface missiles, artillery, hundreds of thousands of cartridges, shells, grenades, and other arms.

Until recently, many in the West believed that the Americans and other foreign advisers were busy exclusively training contras at military bases in Pakistan. In the region of Khowst however, Pakistani border units and 50 advisers from other countries took part in the fighting together with the bandits. One American adviser was killed. All this has nothing to do with a people's war, as some politicians in the West try to represent the actions of Afghan counterrevolutionaries. In my opinion, the operation to break the siege can serve as a good explanation of why the issue of peaceful settlement of the situation involving Afghanistan and the withdrawal of Soviet troops is so closely linked with the issue of ending aid and arms and money to the counterrevolutionaries by the United States and a number of other countries.

Afghans Protest Pakistani Border 'Violations'
LD031604 Moscow TASS in English 1528 GMT
3 Jan 88

[Text] Kabul January 3 TASS—The Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan has made a protest to the Pakistani Government today over the fresh violations of the Afghan state border. The protest note of the Foreign Ministry transmitted by the BAKHTAR agency says that on December 28, 1987 Pakistani Air Force helicopters twice invaded the Afghan air space in Jallalabad Province. After flying over Afghan territory helicopters again returned to Pakistan.

In making a protest over the provocative actions by the Pakistani armed forces, the Afghan Foreign Ministry warned that all responsibility for the unfavorable consequence of such actions would be borne by the Pakistani Government.

Brutents, Syria's Khaddam Hold Damascus Talks
LD011155 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0200 GMT 1 Jan 88

[Text] Damascus, 1 Jan (TASS)—Meetings between Karen Brutents, special representative of the Soviet leadership, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and Deputy Head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, and 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam, the Syrian vice president, have been held here.

Khaddam was informed about the Soviet-American summit meeting in Washington, and about the views of the Soviet leadership for the prospects for disarmament and the resolving of crisis situations and problems that have arisen over conflicts.

The Syrian vice president gave a high appraisal of the constructive Soviet foreign policy, which is aimed at ridding mankind of the threat of nuclear war and eliminating the hot spots of tension in various regions of the planet. He stated that Syria fully supports the Soviet initiatives in the sphere of disarmament, which correspond to the interests of the USSR and to the interests of its friends and allies. The Syrian people have the friendliest of feelings toward the USSR.

During discussion of Near East problems a common viewpoint was expressed that an international conference on the Near East, which has the support of the overwhelming majority of world states, is the only realistic path toward a just settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the establishment of lasting peace in the region. It was noted at the meeting that the strengthening of friendly relations between the USSR and the Syrian Arab Republic corresponds to the long-term interests of the peoples of the two countries.

Brutents Briefs Egyptian Leaders on Summit
LD031910 Moscow TASS in English 1828 GMT
3 Jan 88

[Text] Cairo January 3 TASS—Karen Brutents, special envoy of the Soviet leadership, who is currently staying here met with Rifat Mahjub, speaker of the People's Assembly, 'Abd al-Majid deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, Yusuf Amin Wali, general secretary of the ruling National Democratic Party, deputy prime minister, minister of agriculture, 'Ali Lufti, speaker of the Shura (Advisory Council).

Meetings were also held with Al-Baz, first deputy foreign minister, chief of the political office to the ARE president.

The Soviet representative briefed the Egyptian leaders on the results of the Washington meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan. He also

spoke about the restructuring drive (perestroika) currently under way in the Soviet Union, its strategy and main trends, in which the Egyptian side showed much interest.

The Egyptian statesmen and political figures stressed that they had received with gratification the results of the Soviet-American summit talks. The signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles paves the way towards new agreements in the field of nuclear and other disarmament, which is of vital significance for the whole humanity's future.

Representatives of the Egyptian leadership spoke highly of the USSR's stand on these issues, pointed out the great importance of its initiatives in drawing up the agreements reached in Washington, the dynamism and peaceful character of its foreign policy. They expressed the view that the constructive atmosphere which made it possible to conclude the Soviet-American treaty will leave a positive impact on the resolution of the regional problems, above all on the Middle East problem. The Egyptian representatives said that the international conference is the sole way towards its just settlement.

In the course of the meetings the mutual striving for a further development of relations between the Soviet Union and Egypt was reaffirmed.

PLO Envoy Gives Statement on Anniversary
LD021843 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 2 Jan 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast"; statement by Sa'id Abu 'Imarah, PLO charge d'affaires to the USSR, on the 23d anniversary of the founding of the Palestinian resistance movement; Abu 'Imarah remarks in Arabic, fading into Russian translation—live or recorded in the studio]

[Text] Dear Comrades! Permit me to greet you on behalf of the PLO and Yasir 'Arafat. Marking a glorious date in their struggle, our people are continuing firmly and with determination to resist the Zionist occupiers and their allies, the U.S. imperialists. We are fighting to return to our homeland and to achieve self-determination, the right to establish an independent state under the leadership of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of our people.

The blows of the repressive Israeli machine are falling on unarmed boys and girls, women, and children in the occupied territories. Every day brings new victims. However, this cannot shake our determination to show the whole world that a people suffering injustice lives in that land, a people who should take their place among other peoples; their children should live like children throughout the world. Israel's ruling circles are now showing their true colors as the successors of nazism and fascism. They and their allies in the U.S. Administration, who shed so many crocodile tears, have tried to make themselves out as defenders of human rights. However, they

did not lift a finger when Palestinians were killed and tortured before their very eyes, when Palestinians' houses and hospitals were destroyed, and land and water were taken from the Palestinians.

Dear friends, the PLO has always aspired to attain a comprehensive, just settlement of the Mideast problem. We declare that the idea of convening an international peace conference on the Middle East is a realistic path toward a settlement of the conflict. This would be a plenipotentiary forum, convened under the United Nation's aegis, with the five permanent member countries of the UN Security Council, and all interested parties, including the PLO, participating on an equal basis.

Dear Comrades! Permit me to express profound gratitude and appreciation to the friendly Soviet people for their honest and principled position of support for our just struggle. Permit me, too, to express high esteem for the peace initiatives of the Soviet leadership. We welcome the recent agreement between the USSR and United States, which is the first step on the way to destroying lethal nuclear weapons and establishing genuine peace and brotherhood on earth.

Eternal glory to the fallen Palestinian fighters! Greetings to all for the New Year! Thank you for your attention.

Moscow Meeting Voices Solidarity With PLO
PM311509 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Dec 87
Morning Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Solidarity With the Palestinian People"]

[Text] A meeting of representatives of Soviet public and scientific organizations was held at the House of Friendship with Peoples from Foreign Countries in Moscow 24 December on the initiative of the Soviet Committee for Friendship and Solidarity with the Arab People of Palestine.

Those assembled were addressed by Academician M. I. Kondakov of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences; poet S. Yu. Kunyayev; Professor V. V. Naumkin, chief of department at the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute; Professor G. A. Drozdova of the Patrice Lumumba University of the Friendship of Peoples; and other eminent public and scientific figures.

S. Abu 'Imarah, PLO charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR, participated in the meeting.

A statement on the results of the discussion was unanimously adopted. The Soviet public, the statement says, follows with profound concern the ever worsening situation in the West Bank of the River Jordan and the Gaza Strip which are occupied by the Israeli aggressors. The blame for the prevailing situation lies squarely with the

Tel Aviv rulers, who are striving to use violence to retain the seized Palestinian lands, crush the Palestinians' will in the struggle for their inalienable rights, and stifle their national culture.

Soviet people resolutely condemn Israel's policy toward the civilian population in Palestinian territories, and demand an immediate cessation of the bloody crimes by the occupiers and an end to the blatant violations of the Palestinian people's rights.

The Soviet public, the document emphasizes, invariably sides with the just cause of Palestinians who are courageously upholding their legitimate rights, including their right to establish their own independent state.

Guided by humanitarian considerations and desiring to render real assistance to the Palestinian population of the occupied territories, it notes in conclusion, Soviet public organizations declare their readiness to welcome Palestinian children and women, victims of terrorism on the part of the Israeli military, for medical treatment in the USSR.

The Soviet Union invariably speaks out in support of the sovereign rights of the Palestinian people and their struggle to form their own independent state. Members of the Soviet public's aktiv visited the PLO Mission in Moscow 25 December and expressed solidarity with the Palestinian people's struggle.

S. Abu 'Imarah, PLO charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR, was presented with a message from the Soviet public to Y. 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee.

IZVESTIYA Calls for End to Gulf 'Piracy'

PM311429 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Shevchenko article under the rubric "Persian Gulf": "End the Piracy"]

[Text] Dubai—Eighteen transport ships have been attacked in the Persian Gulf in the last 2 weeks. "Military risk insurance costs are on the up and up and if the situation does not change many ship owners are going to refuse to go into the Persian Gulf," Ibrahim Kannu, director of an insurance company in the United Arab Emirates (UAE), said bitterly when commenting on the situation in the Gulf.

Despite the presence of more than 80 ships in the Persian Gulf sent by the United States and its allies, the threat to shipping has not been reduced but has actually increased. The presence of UN international forces in the Persian Gulf could guarantee safety for all vessels and help to improve the situation in the region, Khalid Muhammad Ahmad, chief editor of the Dubai newspaper AL BAYAN, said in a conversation with me.

Dubai, capital of the principality of the same name that is part of the UAE, is situated on the edge of the Persian Gulf not far from the Strait of Hormuz. There is a large commercial port here, and a powerful dock where damaged transport ships are repaired. During my stay in Dubai I met several members of crews from ships attacked at sea. The seamen talked about the tragic moments in their trip.

"Our ship left Italy with a consignment of marble bound for Kuwait. We were hardly through the Strait of Hormuz when we were approached by unidentified launches which stopped our ship, demanded to know where we were going, and then opened fire on us," seamen from the Romanian transport ship "Fundulea" told me. "This happened on the morning of 23 November. Seven missiles hit our ship in various places. A fire broke out on board. It was only thanks to assistance from a Dutch lifeboat that we were able to put out the fire and be towed to the port of Dubai. The captain on the bridge was seriously wounded. Other crew members, including the cook, were also wounded. One of the missiles hit the ship's kitchen where he was at the time. The local authorities gave us the medical aid we needed. Everyone has now recovered, although our captain is still in the hospital in a serious condition. The fire on our ship could be clearly seen from British and American ships which were not far from us at the time. We tried to radio through to them but they did not respond to our calls and later disappeared without coming to our aid."

Seamen of various nationalities remarked that they have had to go to many parts of the world but the Persian Gulf is the first place where they have found themselves in such a complex situation. Now, as soon as they enter the Strait of Hormuz, crew members don life jackets to be prepared for any eventuality, Greek seamen told me. The captain's bridge, radio room, and living quarters on the ship are surrounded with sandbags to protect them against shell fragments. The situation is intolerable and piracy in the Persian Gulf must be ended.

Correspondent Reports From Gulf Destroyer

PM011339 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Dec 87 Second Edition p 1

[Radio dispatch by special correspondent Captain 2d Rank S. Turchenko: "War Being Waged Nearby... Our Ships in the Persian Gulf"]

[Text] We entered the Strait of Hormuz late in the evening, yet the closer we got to its mouth, the lighter it became all around—as though a second sun had unexpectedly lit up....

"Take a look," Captain 3d Rank M. Volk, commander of the destroyer "Stoykiy," let me look through the sight.

The picture which opened up made a strong impression: A few cable's lengths away a tanker had turned onto its side and was being consumed, embraced by huge tongues

of flame. A column of black smoke was drifting across the starry sky. From time to time the tanker's hull shuddered as the gases which had built up inside exploded, and then you could see almost as in daylight. Because of the very high temperature floating firefighting facilities were unable to help. The tanker "Atlantic City," attacked by Iranian launches several days earlier while sailing with a load of oil under the Singapore flag, was doomed.

I could not help thinking that that huge, somber flare reflected the entire senselessness of what is now happening in the Persian Gulf. The hostilities between Iran and Iraq have spilled over into a zone of international shipping. Any peaceful ships are subjected to artillery and missile strikes unless they sail under the protection of warships. This has given the NATO countries further grounds for assembling a mighty armada of almost 70 warships here, but this has not improved the situation in the Gulf, rather the opposite.

Soviet ships in the Persian Gulf are under the constant protection of ships of the USSR Navy, and therefore an open attack on them is ruled out.

We had long since passed the dying ship, but a glow could still be seen astern for a long time. The usual cruise atmosphere had returned to the "Stoykiy's" operations room [khodovoy post]. Now and then the captains of the tankers we were escorting contacted us by radio. Their voices were cheerful and calm. The ship's commander himself was keeping watch in the operations room. He peered at the sea illuminated by the beam of the bow searchlight and also found time to glance at the radar screen—everything was still proceeding normally. Mikhail Yuryevich has commanded the crew for almost 5 years, but he admitted in conversation that it was only here, in the Persian Gulf, that he really for the first time felt like the commander. This is understandable, if you picture in full the task that the ship has now been fulfilling for several months in succession.

While the situation remained calm, I decided to visit the particularly crucial battle stations. First, I went down to the power and damage control station. Senior Lieutenant A. Sokolov, the watch mechanical engineer, introduced me to the watch personnel—seamen M. Norov from Uzbekistan, A. Yakovlev from Maritime Kray, and B. Saratov from Tadzhikistan.

"A month or two ago," Sokolov said, "when it was really hot in the gulf, the temperature in our engine room reached 60-70 degrees. Roughly the same as in a Russian bathhouse. But we had to keep the watch. We took turns to run up on deck to gulp fresh air and drench ourselves with water, but we held out. Real servicemen. Make a note of their names: Seaman M. Makrousov, Seaman A. Andreyev, Seaman D. Sozinov..."

While I was away from the operations station, the atmosphere had heated up. Numerous targets were scattered like small white sugar crystals over the radar screens.

One target was of particular concern to Capt 3d Rank M. Volk. It was on a course toward us, and the commander maneuvered with a view to keeping the protected tankers under cover all the time. Soon we could make out with the night vision device a launch with missile launchers and a gun. What were its goals? What could be expected of it? The commander did not know the answer to these questions.... Finally we managed to ascertain by radio that it was a patrol launch from one of the Persian Gulf countries. We warned that we advised it not to approach, and the launch turned aside.

Soon other targets also approached within visual observation distance. A British convoy was sailing nearby. It was being shadowed by an Iranian frigate, and then came a detachment of NATO ships. The warships' uncovered guns reminded us, as it were, that a war was being waged nearby....

East Europe

CSSR's Jakes To Visit Within Next Few Days

LD031118 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1109 GMT 3 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 3 Jan (TASS)—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, is to pay a working visit to the Soviet Union within the next few days. He has been invited by the CPSU Central Committee.

Romanian GNA Marks Jubilee of Republic

PM311459 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Dec 87
Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Romania: Ceremonial Session"]

[Text] Bucharest, 25 Dec—A ceremonial session of Romania's Grand National Assembly devoted to the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the Romanian Republic has been held here.

Addressing the session, E. Ceausescu, member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee, first deputy prime minister of the Romanian Government, and chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology, noted that the elimination of the monarchy and the proclamation of a republic in Romania crowned the prolonged struggle waged by the people's masses for social and national liberation. During the years since the establishment of the republican system Romania has turned from an underdeveloped country into an industrial-agrarian state with a modern industry and socialist agriculture.

The Romanian people are welcoming the jubilee with new successes. During the first 2 years of the 5-year plan period there has been a 10% increase in industrial output and an almost 20% increase in agricultural output. At the same time, serious lagging exists in many sectors. Now it is necessary to concentrate attention along the priority avenues to ensure that 1988 becomes a decisive year in meeting the 5-year plan targets.

Dwelling on questions of the international situation, the speaker noted that the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is an event of historic importance, a victory for realistic thinking and progressive forces all over the world.

N. Ceausescu, RCP general secretary and president of the SR of Romania, took part in the festive session of the Grand National Assembly.

GDR, Hungary To Participate in Seoul Olympics
SK311310 Moscow International Service in Korean
1330 GMT 30 Dec 87

[Weekly review of sports in the feature program "Sports Hour"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] We will briefly talk about the Olympics. We will not talk about the Winter Olympic Games, which are being prepared in an orderly manner, but about the Summer Olympic Games, which will be held in Seoul.

Each national Olympic Committee must report, before 18 January, to the International Olympic Committee [IOC] whether it will participate in the Summer Olympic Games or not.

Last week, the GDR and Hungarian National Olympic Committees respectively expressed their willingness to participate in the Summer Olympic Games. The GDR National Olympic Committee expressed its hope that the Summer Olympic Games will contribute to, for example, unity in the Olympic movement, mutual understanding among the people, and the maintenance of peace in the world.

The Hungarian and GDR National Olympic Committees said that they will also in the future support the IOC's efforts to hold the Olympic Games in the North and the South of the Korean peninsula. [passage omitted]

Travel Procedures to Hungary, GDR, CSSR Changed
LD010043 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0204 GMT 1 Jan 88

[Summary] Beginning today, those planning to travel to Hungary, the GDR, Czechoslovakia and a number of other socialist countries can apply to Intourist, without the previous exhausting form-filling process. The open

sale of places on tours to these countries is currently an experiment being conducted by the State Committee for Foreign Tourism beginning 1 January, in order to study the market and to set up a mechanism for a new system of distributing places on tours.

Talyzin, Poland's Sadowski Discuss Planning
LD301918 Warsaw PAP in English 1836 GMT
30 Dec 87

[By PAP correspondent Slawomir Popowski]

[Text] Moscow, Dec. 30:—Chairman of the Government Planning Commission, Vice-Premier Zdzislaw Sadowski stayed here between Dec. 29 and 30 at the invitation from CPSU CC Political Bureau Alternate Member, Chairman of the State Planning Committee of the USSR, Vice-Premier Nikolay Talyzin.

The sides discussed questions connected with acceleration of the development of Polish-Soviet economic cooperation. They also exchanged information on the social-economic situation in Poland and the Soviet Union, paying particular attention to the implementation of the second stage of the economic reform in Poland and perestroika in the USSR. It was stated that the exchange of experiences in this field was very useful for both partners.

During talks decided were the detailed assumptions of further work, inspired and coordinated by both countries' central planning bodies, on the concept of Polish-Soviet division of labour till the year 2000 and on the principles of coordination of five-year plans of the two countries for the years 1991-1995. In this context stressed was the importance for Polish-Soviet cooperation of consistent introduction of the complex program of the scientific-technological progress of the CMEA countries.

Sadowski and Talyzin approved of the program of cooperation of the planning bodies of both countries till 1990. It covers the current methodological problems of socio-economic planning against the background of changes taking place in the systems of economic management in Poland and the Soviet Union.

Culture Delegation Visits Poland 16-22 Dec
PM291622 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Dec 87
Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] Under the plan for CPSU-PZPR ties, a delegation of USSR cultural figures was in Poland 16 through 22 December, consisting of G.M. Markov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Writers' Union Board, A. M. Maldonis, member of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Lithuanian Writers' Union Board, R.D. Chkhaidze, member of the Georgian Communist Party

Central Committee and director of the Gruzija film movie studio, E.M. Mirzoyan, member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Armenian Composers' Union Board, and E.I. Pyl-droos, candidate member of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Estonian Artists' Union Board.

The delegation studied the PZPR's experience of work among the artistic intelligentsia. Meetings and talks took place at the PZPR Central Committee Culture Department, the Polish Ministry of Culture and Art, the National Council for Culture, the Krakow and Nowy Sacz PZPR Voivodship Committees, and a number of creative unions and culture institutions.

The delegation was received by A. Wasilewski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

Yakovlev Receives Bulgarian Media Official
LD152310 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1630 GMT 15 Dec 87

[Text] Today Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee received (Palo), chairman of the Television and Radio Broadcasting Committee of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers. During a friendly discussion, issues of Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation in the sphere of radio broadcasting and television were discussed. Taking part in the conversation were Aksenov, chairman of the USSR State Committee on Television and Radio Broadcasting, and Pankov, ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the USSR.

SRV Foreign Minister Ends Albania Visit
PM311206 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Dec 87
Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Departure From Albania"]

[Text] Tirana—Nguyen Co Thach, member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and foreign minister of the SRV, who was in Albania on an official friendly visit, has left.

As ATA reports, he had talks with Albanian Foreign Minister R. Malile and other Albanian figures.

Nguyen Co Thach was received by R. Alia, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee and chairman of the Albanian People's Assembly Presidium. The sides came out in favor of the further development of relations between Albania and Vietnam.

Albanian Leaders Attend Armed Forces Seminar
PM311415 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
23 Dec 87 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report datelined 22 Dec: "Seminar Held"]

[Text] Tirana—As ATA reports, the People's Defense Ministry has held the concluding seminar of higher command personnel of the Army and the staffs of a number of formations. Taking part in it were R. Alia, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee and commander in chief of the People's SR of Albania Armed Forces; members of the AWP Central Committee Politburo P. Murra, people's defense minister, S. Stefani, secretary of the AWP Central Committee, and H. Isai, deputy chairman of the People's SR of Albania Council of Ministers; and K. Mustaqi, candidate member of the AWP Central Committee Politburo and chief of the People's Army General Staff.

Speaking at the end of the seminar, R. Alia touched on a number of problems of the country's socioeconomic development and certain questions of the present-day international position and the situation in the Balkans and the world.

Joint Enterprise Documents Signed With SFRY
LD232030 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1855 GMT
23 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow, Dec 23 (TANJUG)—Documents on setting up the first joint Yugoslav-Soviet enterprise, to be based in the Soviet Union, were signed today.

The enterprise was set up by Energoinvest of Sarajevo and the Soviet production enterprise Nefthqmautomatik [name as received] in the city of Belgorod.

The new enterprise, founded with joint capital, will manufacture devices measuring oil flow and other equipment for the petrochemical industry. The value of annual production will be between 40 and 50 million dollars and a new plant is also to be built.

CPSU CC Receives Thanks From SFRY
LD260045 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 25 Dec 87

[From the Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has received a telegram from the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, Bosko Kronic, expressing thanks for its greetings on the occasion of Yugoslavia's national holiday—the Day of the Republic. The president of the SFRY Presidency, Lazar Mojsov, expressed thanks to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium for its greetings in connection with the significant date.

Briefs

New USSR-Bulgarian Association

Sofia, 24 Dec (TASS)—TASS correspondent Vladimir Matyash reports: On the eve of the new year a new major step was taken in the development of the integration between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. An agreement on setting up the joint Bulgarian-Soviet Association "Parom" [ferry] was signed simultaneously in Varna and Odessa. Its main task is to assist the successful work of the Varna-Ilyichevsk ferry complex, the first "blue friendship route" of its kind linking the Black Sea coast of the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic, which will mark its 10th anniversary in 1988. During this time it turned into a weighty instrument of foreign trade exchange between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. It is enough to say that 40% of Bulgarian exports to the USSR is accounted for by four maritime railway ferries—two Soviet ones and two Bulgarian ones, which, using the "shuttle" method, are doing a huge amount of work in transporting valuable national economy cargoes also from the USSR. As a TASS correspondent was told at the USSR Merchant Marine mission in the Bulgarian People's Republic, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union are implementing concerted measures for the comprehensive development of mutual maritime transport links. The "Intermoput" Bulgarian-Soviet company, which combines and coordinates the efforts of both countries to improve navigation services on the sea routes of the Black Sea Basin, is operating successfully. [Excerpts] [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1530 GMT 24 Dec 87 LD]

Sports Protocol Signed

The further advancement of Soviet-Yugoslav sporting contacts is envisaged in a protocol on sports cooperation between the USSR and the SFRY in 1988 signed in Belgrade. In the coming year one of the most interesting events according to the plan of the protocol will be the friendly meeting in Belgrade between the ex-world chess champion Anatoliy Karpov and Ljubomir Ljubojevic. The exchange of sports teams and trainers will continue. As before great attention will be paid to the exchange of experience among the organizations of physical culture and recreational work and the development of sport among the masses. [Text] [Moscow in Serbo-Croatian to Yugoslavia 2000 GMT 25 Dec 87 LD]

West Europe

Finland's Holkeri Meets Solovyev, Gives Speech
PM311445 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Dec 87
Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Along the Path of Trust and Cooperation"]

[Excerpts] Leningrad, 30 Dec—A conversation took place at the Smolnyy today between Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee

Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom, and a Finnish delegation headed by Prime Minister H. Holkeri, which arrived in Leningrad in connection with the 70th anniversary of the signing of the Decree on Finland's State Independence by V.I. Lenin.

The unbreakable organic link between Finland's acquisition of state independence and the Great October Socialist Revolution was noted. Emphasis was placed on the abiding importance of Lenin's decree, which laid the foundations for developing our relations on the principles of equality, respect for each other's sovereignty, and consideration of mutual interests and for the shaping of the present good-neighborly nature of Soviet-Finnish cooperation.

An exchange of opinions on topical questions of the international situation following the Washington summit meeting and certain aspects of Soviet-Finnish collaboration took place in an atmosphere of amicability and mutual understanding.

In the course of the discussion of the world situation, it was noted that the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles marked the beginning of the building of a world without nuclear weapons, a beginning that is already having a beneficial effect on the world political climate, enhancing mutual trust between states, and strengthening hopes for the triumph of realism and reason. Finland's prime minister described the reaching of agreement on eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles as a historic event, the most important political event in the last few years. Yu.F. Solovyev stressed that the agreement is not the product of efforts by just the USSR and the United States. It is the result of joint efforts by all countries and peoples, including Finland. It is a common victory.

Having noted that the Soviet Union considers solving regional aspects [aspekty] a necessary element of the movement toward a nuclear-free and nonviolent world, Yu.F. Solovyev drew the guests' attention to the package of Soviet initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev in Murmansk. Emphasis was placed on the need for active efforts on their implementation.

During the exchange of opinions on the current state and future prospects of Soviet-Finnish relations, it was noted that our peoples' sincere desire to further develop mutual trust and equal cooperation creates reliable guarantees for successful advance in the future.

Particular attention was paid to prospects for our countries' trade and economic collaboration, primarily from the viewpoint of overcoming certain complications that have developed in our trade. In this context both sides expressed the desire to assist by all means in boosting reciprocal commodity turnover on a balanced basis. Moreover, stress was placed on the need for new forms of

economic cooperation: production sharing and specialization, projects on a barter basis, creation of joint enterprises, and joint construction of projects in third countries. [passage omitted]

A festive public meeting was held to mark the 70th anniversary of the signing of the Decree on Finland's State Independence by V.I. Lenin.

Yu.F. Solovyev and other city and party leaders were in the presidium. H. Holkeri and delegation members were also there.

The meeting was opened by A.N. Gerasimov, first secretary of the Leningrad Party Gorkom.

Leningrad Gorispolkom Chairman V.Ya. Khodyrev noted in his speech that the celebration of the jubilee of Finland's independence in the city on the Neva is profoundly symbolic. It was here, 70 years ago, that V.I. Lenin presented Finland's representatives with the decree on its state independence.

It is a pleasure for us, the speaker stressed, that the Finnish people and their leaders honor V.I. Lenin's memory and highly appraise the role he played in the birth and growth of the independent Finnish state and establishment of good-neighborliness between our countries. [passage omitted]

Those assembled were addressed by H. Holkeri. The year now ending was a jubilee year for both Finland and the Soviet Union, he said. The USSR festively celebrated the October Revolution's 70th anniversary, and Finland celebrated the 70th anniversary of our state independence. It is also a profoundly symbolic fact that we are ending our jubilee year at this joint festive meeting devoted to the 70th anniversary of the decree on the recognition of Finland's state independence. We are talking about a historic act by the young Soviet state of great importance both for the history and present state of relations between Finland and the USSR.

The signing of the decree on the recognition of Finland's state independence by Lenin was an act testifying primarily to state realism and consistency. It is well-known that Lenin's concept of the nations' right to self-determination contains different alternatives. It is immaterial what hopes he may possibly have nurtured regarding future developments in Finland. In this context it is hard to agree with the viewpoint of some academics, who say this was just a temporary tactical measure used to guide Finland's future development. The recognition of independent Finland by the Soviet Government, in conformity with the reality existing at that time, remains a historical fact. This fact is the basis of the relations of good-neighborly trust that exist at present between Finland and the Soviet Union.

Good-neighborliness between Finland and the Soviet Union, H. Holkeri went on, is built primarily on mutual trust, which has become the basic term describing mutual relations between our countries. During his official visit to the Soviet Union in October, our head of state M. Koivisto and M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, emphasized the importance of preserving and augmenting the capital of trust accumulated by our countries. Bilateral relations offer sound proof that it is possible to build active relations and to diversify practical cooperation across the borders of different social systems. The dialogue between Finland and the Soviet Union at different levels is continuous. The system of practical ties between our countries exists on many planes. It is stable and operates well. The depth of the present state of our mutual ties is reflected in the fact that ordinary citizens participate in them within the framework of contacts between various circles, organizations, and cities. Finland's Government will do everything possible to preserve and strengthen these ties between our countries. These ties are based on trust, in line with the demands of the time. We will do this by pursuing the well-known and recognized Paasikivi-Kekkonen line.

The 1948 Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance provides a reliable basis for our relations. Like a cornerstone, it supports the edifice of our mutual relations and the work being done by both sides to develop cooperation. The treaty has become a natural element of our ties. Bearing in mind that its term has been extended right until the next millennium, prospects for our cooperation have been secured for the distant future. We proceed from the premise that the treaty is permanently topical and the basic document of our mutual ties.

Leningrad, just like the entire Northwest Economic Region of the Soviet Union, plays an important role for trade and economic ties between our countries. Leningrad Oblast has long-established traditions, especially in the spheres of shipbuilding and machine building. Our countries strive to use this long-established experience via the joint development of production sharing between enterprises in Finland and the oblast. The production of nuclear-powered icebreakers and oil-drilling platforms in cooperation with the Baltic and Vyborg shipyards can be mentioned as examples.

Finland's construction industry workers are working over a very large expanse in the Soviet Union, from our common border to the Pacific. There are, however, three regions where construction work is particularly active: Moscow, the Baltic region, and Leningrad.

A commodity turnover protocol between our countries for 1988 was signed in Moscow a few days ago. I would like to note with gratification that, as a result of joint efforts, we managed—despite the fall in world prices for

some of the commodities we import, especially crude oil—to agree on commodity turnover in such a way as to maintain it at as high a level as last year.

The large-scale economic restructuring that has begun in the Soviet Union, with the changes applying to foreign trade, has also given rise to new tasks and opportunities in terms of our long-term trade ties. New forms of cooperation in our trade, one of which is the production I have already mentioned, and the joint enterprises that have started operations and offer new prospects, are developing intensively.

While continuing work for the sake of preserving good-neighborly relations, expanding the forms of cooperation, and meeting the demands made of these relations by the times we live in, we are simultaneously following the bequest left to us by those who built them, the head of the Finnish Government said in conclusion. I am convinced that while we build on this historic foundation, success will accompany future relations between our countries. [passage omitted]

A dinner was given in honor of the delegation on behalf of the Leningrad Gorispolkom.

Yu.F. Solovyev and other officials attended.

V.Ya. Khodyrev and H. Holkeri exchanged speeches during the dinner, which was held in a friendly atmosphere. [passage omitted]

Departs Leningrad 31 Dec

LD311319 Moscow TASS in English 1004 GMT
31 Dec 87

[Text] Leningrad December 31 TASS—A delegation of Finland led by Prime Minister Harri Holkeri today left Leningrad. It visited the city on the Neva River in conjunction with the 70th anniversary of the signing by Vladimir Lenin of the decree on Finland's state independence.

Finnish President Cited on INF Treaty

LD302022 Moscow TASS in English 1928 GMT
30 Dec 87

[Text] Helsinki December 30 TASS—President of the Republic of Finland Mauno Koivisto today highly appreciated the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of the Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles. In an interview to the third Finnish television programme, in the telecast "Today, Here and Now", he underlined that the summit meeting in Washington was the most important since it led to a concrete result.

UK 'Covered Up' Nuclear Plant Accident in '50's

LD020010 Moscow in English to Great Britain
and Ireland 2000 GMT 1 Jan 88

[Text] In Britain, the government of Harold MacMillan covered up a major accident at a military nuclear plant in Windscale, now Sellafield, 30 years ago. As a result, many residents of northwestern England got large doses of radiation. That follows from documents made public in London after their term of secrecy expired.

Notes Exchanged With Netherlands on Inspections

PM011651 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
22 Dec 87 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Exchange of Notes"]

[Text] The Hague, 21 Dec—An exchange of notes has taken place here between the Netherlands Foreign Ministry and the Soviet Embassy. The exchange represents an understanding between the Governments of the Soviet Union and the Netherlands relating to the carrying out on Dutch territory of inspections stipulated by the Treaty Between the USSR and the United States on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and the Inspections Protocol thereto.

The said understanding comes into force simultaneously with the treaty and will operate for 13 years from the date the treaty comes into force.

A.N. Burlakov, USSR charge d'affaires in the Netherlands, and A. Ettema, director of the Netherlands Foreign Ministry Atlantic Cooperation and International Security Department, took part in the exchange of notes procedure.

FRG's H.-J. Vogel Interviewed on INF Treaty

PM311517 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Dec 87
Second Edition p 4

[Interview in Bonn with H.-J. Vogel, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, by own correspondent Yu. Yakhontov: "Treaty of Historic Significance"; date not specified]

[Excerpt] Bonn, 23 Dec—[passage omitted] "The treaty signed in Washington on the elimination of intermediate and shorter-range missiles," H.-J. Vogel said, "is of historic significance. The great powers have drawn practical conclusions for the first time, realizing that security in the nuclear age can no longer be ensured by continuing armament directed against each other but through mutual efforts. This signifies a victory for reason and inspires hope of further steps."

In regard to European security problems, the Washington summit meeting has improved preconditions for resolving them. Steps must now be taken also to eliminate the specific threat to European security from nuclear, conventional, and chemical weapons, as well as in the sphere of superiority—where this exists.

Here it is important, my interlocutor believes, for people to stop highlighting the starting point for reductions and not to plunge once again into fruitless discussions of figures. They must reach agreement on the purpose of the talks, namely on stable equilibrium at the lowest possible level from the Atlantic to the Urals.

In reply to a question as to what the countries of the continent can do to make our common European home a model of peaceful cooperation, H.-J. Vogel said:

"The European home acquired its first outlines with the start of the Helsinki process. This process already contains all the basic elements of a peaceful European order. We must continue building it on this basis. We must build it in all the areas indicated in the 1975 Helsinki Final Act. That is, we must develop economic, ecological, and cultural cooperation, more widely ensure social and individual human rights, renounce obsolete 'images of the enemy,' and also ensure the transition to peaceful competition between the systems and to greater ease in crossing state borders."

What does the leader of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] see as the party's task in resolving European problems?

"With the help of Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik," he replied, "the SPD paved the way to Helsinki. Next, by its proposals, it again and again promoted East-West talks relating to European problems and also advanced its own initiatives. Thus, specific proposals for reducing the burden of military spending, for confidence-building measures, and for further steps in the disarmament sphere were elaborated during talks with the leadership of the Soviet Union, Poland, and the GDR. These include," H.-J. Vogel continued, "projects for creating a chemical weapon-free zone and a nuclear-free corridor along the border separating the blocs. The idea of imparting to the structure of the NATO and Warsaw Pact Armed Forces a nature ruling out attack was also advanced by us. Finally, there is the document 'Struggle of Ideologies and Collective Security,' drawn up by the SPD jointly with representatives of the SED."

Unfortunately, the NATO side has still not replied to the Warsaw Pact states' proposal to sit round the negotiating table and discuss problems of eliminating the non-equilibrium or imbalance in tactical and conventional arms, as well as military doctrines.

"An East-West accord has been reached," my interlocutor said in this connection, "that, if the armed forces of both sides were deprived of the ability to attack, while

preserving the ability to defend, this would decisively improve security in Europe. Recognition of this circumstance must now lead to practical measures as regards the dimensions of arms and the infrastructure of armed forces. Talks on this subject must be conducted within the framework of the Vienna meeting of representatives of the CSCE participant states. I hope that NATO will soon reach a single opinion concerning the corresponding mandate of the talks."

Commenting on the attempts by those circles that want somehow to "compensate" for the loss of the Pershing-2 and cruise missiles by various means, H.-J. Vogel declared:

"We reject such aspirations. Whoever makes such attempts will encounter our resolute resistance." [passage omitted]

FRG Confirms More Ships Bound for Mediterranean
LD022213 Moscow TASS in English 2149 GMT
2 Jan 88

[Text] Bonn January 2 TASS—The West German Defence Ministry confirmed today a report of the weekly DER SPIEGEL that West German naval headquarters is planning to send another task force to the Mediterranean to replace American warships heading for the Persian Gulf.

The task force is leaving for the Mediterranean on January 21. It comprises a destroyer and three frigates.

At the same time, a Defence Ministry spokesman denied reports that Bundesmarine's ships would be used permanently in the Mediterranean.

Spanish Radio Awards Prize to Gorbachev
LD041006 Moscow TASS in English 0919 GMT
4 Jan 88

[Text] Madrid January 4 TASS—Listeners of one of the popular Spanish radio broadcasts "World Through a Glass Roof", which is part of the "La Radio Cadena Espanola" programme, have voted for awarding their "1987 Golden Prize" to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the policy of perestroika, or restructuring of Soviet society.

La Radio Cadena Espanola is a three-hour Sunday morning programme devoted to political, economic, cultural and sports news in Spain and abroad.

Its host is well-known Spanish writer Fernando Sanchez Drago.

TASS Cites Italy's Andreotti on INF Treaty
*LD302059 Moscow TASS in English 2040 GMT
30 Dec 87*

[Text] Rome December 30 (TASS)—The Soviet Union and the United States have embarked on the path which already brings about specific results. The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is just the first step. The next will concern the strategic weapons. A statement to this effect was made in state television interview by Italy's Foreign Minister: Giulio Andreotti. He also stressed the importance of reaching agreements on conventional weapons. The general line of disarmament policy should be towards reaching an equilibrium at an ever lower rather than higher level of armament, he said.

Kiselev Views Expansion of Trade With Turkey
*NC311011 Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish
28 Dec 87 p 5*

[Varlik Ozmenek report: "A Positive Approach by the Great Neighbor"]

[Text] (ANKA)—Mikhail Kiselev, chief of the Trade With Asian Countries Administration of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade, has said "significant steps will be taken to improve trade relations between the Soviet Union and Turkey in 1988." Noting that a Soviet delegation headed by Katushev, chairman of the USSR State Economic Committee [name and title as published], will be visiting Turkey for that purpose on 15 January 1988, Kiselev asserted that the talks to be held in Ankara will establish the extent of economic and trade relations between the two countries in 1988.

Kiselev said that, compared with 1986, the volume of trade between the Soviet Union and Turkey increased by 30% during 1987. He described this increase as a "very important" development for 1988 and subsequent years. Recalling that the 25-year agreement between the two countries for the sale of Soviet natural gas to Turkey until the year 2011 created "new opportunities" in bilateral trade relations, Kiselev said that the Soviet Union would be supplying 6 billion cubic meters of natural gas to Turkey between 1993 and 2011. He added that the list of the commodities Turkey will be supplying to the Soviet Union in return for its natural gas imports will be drawn up on a yearly basis.

Kiselev asserted: "The reconstruction policy has created significant opportunities for developing the existing trade relations between the Soviet Union and Turkey. We regard our trade relations with neighboring Turkey as very important. We intend to upgrade the scope of our economic and trade relations to the highest level. We believe that this is required by our good-neighborly relations."

Briefs

Protocol With Italian Company

The Prommasheksport foreign trade organization has signed a protocol of intent with the Italian FATA company on setting up in Italy a joint engineering consultancy firm. The firm will be set up next year. It will promote the introduction of new processes at enterprises in the USSR, Italy, and other countries. It will provide a whole range of engineering services from consultations to supplying equipment created by the partners. Possibilities already exist for this firm to participate in projects in Ethiopia, Kenya, and a number of other African countries. Among the new Soviet technologies which have attracted FATA and other Italian firms is the hot application of aluminium to metal components. The firm Leopoldo Biasi SPA has already signed a contract with PROMMASHKSPORT to purchase this technology and the necessary equipment. [Summary] [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1335 GMT 24 Dec 87 LD]

Latin America & Caribbean

Cuban Envoy Aguilera Speaks on National Day
*LD011908 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 1 Dec 87*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today Cuba celebrates its national holiday. It was exactly 29 years ago, on just such a New Year's Day, that insurgent troops led by Fidel Castro overturned the pro-U.S. Batista regime. Taking part in our program is Julio Camacho Aguilera, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Cuba to the USSR:

[Aguilera, in Spanish with superimposed Russian translation; live or recorded in studio] Our revolution initiated a radical alteration of the country's political and economic life. Located only 90 miles from the citadel of imperialism, the revolution has strengthened and matured under the most severe of economic blockades that has persisted throughout the entire process of our revolutionary development. Subversive acts and sabotage were committed against Cuba, and much falsehood and slander was directed at weakening and defaming the Cuban Revolution internationally. Under conditions of constant confrontation with imperialism, our people's creative construction and loyalty to the cause of the revolution and to Comrade Fidel Castro are helping us shake off the consequences of neocolonialism and capitalism.

We are ushering in the 29th anniversary with great successes in the social sphere. The annual growth of economic development has been between 1.5% and 2%. Satisfaction of the people's basic requirements is backed by every guarantee. Cuba has become the first country in the Americas to do away with illiteracy and to achieve

considerable success in education, science, culture, and health care at an accelerated pace. Thanks to the latest achievements of science and technology, Cuba has joined those countries having the very lowest levels of infant mortality; health care, educational, cultural, and leisure services are guaranteed by the state and are free for the people.

As part of the development of the revolutionary process, work is being done in the country to correct mistakes in order to raise the level of social and economic development and the efficiency of economic administration. Cuba pursues a vigorous foreign policy founded on principles of respect for the self-determination of the people, on the principle of internationalism, and solidarity in reinforcing the cause of peace and socialism and in establishing a new international economic order.

On this portentous day, one cannot fail to mention the friendship which for 29 years now has linked Cuba and the Soviet Union in times of struggle and victory, a friendship that has helped to wreck plans by U.S. imperialism to destroy the Cuban Revolution by political, economic, and military force. We express our gratitude to all those who have always been on the side of the Cuban people, its revolution, and Fidel Castro. We express our solidarity with all people struggling for their national liberation. We are profoundly grateful to the Soviet Union for its daily contribution to the cause of peace. We welcome the signing of the USSR-US Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate and Shorter-Range Missiles and hope for success in its implementation.

With these hopes of peace, for which the Soviet Union is fighting under the leadership of Comrade Gorbachev, allow me to express confidence in the victory of the ideas of peace, detente, and socialism.

Cuban Cosmonaut Notes Value of Space Missions
*LD040941 Moscow TASS in English 0702 GMT
4 Jan 88*

[Text] Havana January 4 TASS—The record-breaking space flight by Yuriy Romanenko laid the basis for following, longer manned space missions, Cuba's first cosmonaut Arnaldo Tamayo Mendez told journalists here. Yuriy Romanenko's long stay in space, he noted, gives grounds to believe that scientists are on the verge of resolving the problem of a flight to Mars.

The Cuban cosmonaut said that he hoped to make his second space flight within the "Interkosmos" programme. He noted that numerous scientific experiments could be conducted in the interests of the Cuban national economy during this mission. During a space flight six years ago together with Yuriy Romanenko, he noted, valuable material had been accumulated to compile a new map of Cuba, and other important scientific investigations had been carried out.

Ultrarightists Blamed for Deaths in Jonestown

18070041 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Nov 87 p 5

[Article by Yuriy Vladimirov: "Jonestown Tragedy"]

[Text] At the end of November 1978, the world was shaken by the report of the tragic demise of 914 American citizens—members of the religious commune "People's Temple," who found a refuge in the tropical jungles of Guyana. The press presented this piece of news as an act of "mass suicide" done under the influence of the pastor Jim Jones. (He was later found with a bullet in his head among his followers, poisoned by cyanide potassium.) This incident would remain in people's memory as a cruel and inhumane phenomenon of religious fanaticism. The facts about U.S. ultrarightist elements' participation in this event would not be exposed.

In the middle of the sixties in Indianapolis (U.S.), unfortunate Americans created an organization, registered as a religious commune, the "People's Temple." Its slogans of brotherhood and social justice were attractive to hundreds of outcasts, particularly those of Indian or Negro descent. In the middle of the seventies, 20,000 people were included in the "People's Temple," which had moved its activities to California. The commune, which supported human rights and democratic freedoms, began to be victimized by ultrarightists, and the threat of physical reprisal hung over many of its activists.

At the request of the leader of the "People's Temple" Jim Jones, the Government of Guyana gave to the emigrants a parcel of land in the jungle. Almost a thousand people moved there with Jim Jones. In a short time, they turned this disastrous place into a productive agricultural cooperative, in which they tried to build mutual relations based on principles of social justice.

However, in Jonestown, as the settlement was called, the peace of the outcast Americans did not last long. The ultrarightists were successful in infiltrating their agents among the Jonestown population. These spread disinformation about the "concentration camp in the jungle." Jim Jones was represented as nothing other than a clever and cynical dealer, scraping together a fortune by exploiting Americans disenchanted with their government. Speaking at a press conference in Georgetown in October 1978, the well-known American lawyer Mark Lane stated that the successes of Jonestown irritated certain circles in the United States. He also spoke about the existence of armed groups in the northwestern jungles of Guyana. These groups had a carefully developed plan for the destruction of the whole settlement.

Storm clouds thickened over the "commune in the jungle." Two events hastened the fatal outcome. The first was when the intention of the inhabitants of Jonestown to turn to the USSR with a request for political asylum became known. The second was the possible publication of the results of the inspection trip

to Jonestown by a member of the U.S. Congress House of Representatives, Leo Ryan. He arrived there on 17 November. He looked over the settlement and spoke with its inhabitants.

The cocked trigger was pulled on 18 November, when Leo Ryan prepared to leave Jonestown. The shots cut short the life of the congressman and three of the American journalists accompanying him. Then on the outskirts of the settlement, automatic bursts began to thunder. Those who escaped the bullets were driven into the center and forced to take the deadly poison. The

Jonestown radio station summoned a U.S. armed subunit with coded signals. The mayor of San Francisco, friendly with Jim Jones, was shot in his office.

Only several days passed in which the traces of the barbaric crime were destroyed and the press carried the report and photographs of the "mass suicide" on religious grounds.

The whole truth about the violence in Jonestown and the death of its population still awaits its hour. We, apparently, will find out only when the documents on this affair will be declassified by the American powers.

Political & Social

Gorbachev New Year Message to Nation

PM311701 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Jan 88
First Edition p 1

["New Year Message to the Soviet People From M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee"—PRAVDA headline; comparisons with Moscow Television version broadcast in Russian at 1850 GMT on 31 December given in brackets]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

The last minutes of the outgoing year of 1987 are ticking away into history. Every year in the life of an individual or a people is unrepeatable in its own way.

For us Soviet people 1987 will remain in the memory primarily as the year of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The whole world evaluates at its worth the significance of our revolution and its influence on the destiny of world civilization.

At the time of the anniversary we, as it were, measured our current thoughts and deeds against the dawn hours of our history, Lenin's ideas, and the first experience of their implementation.

Again and again we have been convinced: Lenin's ideas are triumphing, the revolution continues.

It continues in our society's irreversible movement along the path of progress, the path of socialism.

It continues in our struggle for peace and disarmament, for the survival and development of mankind.

The outgoing year of 1987 was a year of profound changes and large-scale decisions, a year of intensive labor.

The decisions of the January and June plenums of the party Central Committee and the Law on the State Enterprise, which was discussed nationwide and adopted, determined the [new.] main directions of the revolutionary restructuring of our society.

The current year as it were completes the first stage of restructuring. The new political and moral atmosphere prevailing in society is the great achievement of this stage.

Society is emerging from its state of stagnation, and Soviet people's social activeness and responsibility for the affairs of the country are growing.

The prestige of honest, conscientious labor is being reborn.

High exactingness, criticism and self-criticism, and broad democratism and glasnost are increasingly asserting themselves in social life.

Of course, restructuring is not proceeding easily or painlessly. Not everything always turns out [immediately] as planned. The old is giving way to the new only with a struggle.

But this must not disturb us. It is all the more imperative not to retreat in the face of difficulties. We have undertaken an enormous task which will transform both ourselves and our entire country. [Television version deletes "entire"] Clearly this will not happen of its own accord. It will need our joint efforts.

We are feeling growing support for the party's course of restructuring. With each passing day the understanding of the urgency of the new tasks is strengthening among our people.

This in the final analysis is the main and most important factor.

Restructuring is having an ever-increasing impact on our economy. The outgoing year has been a difficult one in economic affairs but we are completing it with reasonable results in industry, capital construction, agriculture, and transport.

Major social programs are being implemented for the development of health care, science and culture, and the services sphere. We have built more housing than planned in the cities and villages of all regions of the country.

Of course, comrades, in speaking of [all] this we well understand that our economy is not yet satisfying many of the people's vital requirements. Enormous and difficult work lies ahead of us.

The incoming year will chronicle the progress of the new stage of restructuring. It will be a crucial stage on the path of the profound renewal of all aspects of the life of society, material and spiritual.

We are faced with two interrelated key tasks—the further democratization of society and radical economic reform. [Television version deletes "key"]

January 1 sees the coming into force of the Law on the State Enterprise.

This means that the majority of labor collectives will begin to work and live in conditions of full economic accountability [khozraschet], self-financing, and self-management.

This means that everyone has to learn to be absolute masters of production.

[In the final analysis.] This means acting in such a way that creative labor, initiative and responsibility, and organization and discipline are held in high esteem in each collective.

The Communist Party Central Committee is confident that the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and all Soviet people—as has been the case more than once at major turning points in our history—will display their inherent high moral qualities, patriotism, steadfastness and industriousness, and faith in the future in order to take a major [new] stride along the path of restructuring.

Then the life of everyone will without doubt become materially better and spiritually richer.

Dear Comrades! We link our development prospects with the peaceful future of mankind.

Much still remains to be accomplished in order to create a world without weapons and fear, a world in which respect, mutual understanding, and cooperation will prevail in relations between peoples. [Television version deletes "and fear"]

Important steps have already been taken toward this goal. In one sense 1987 has been a watershed year marking the beginning of the historic process of eliminating nuclear weapons.

The signing at the Soviet-U.S. meeting in Washington of the treaty on the complete elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles was a major event in world politics and a victory for the new political thinking. [Television version deletes "complete"]

This was a success for the entire world community.

The first step has been taken—a difficult but very important one. It was taken in the interests of mankind.

The contribution of the Soviet people has been great and inestimable. By their heroic efforts they have created an economic, scientific and technical, and defense potential which enables us to speak with our partners as equals.

Our people's persistent and selfless struggle for peace and mutual understanding has been a part of the single gigantic movement of all the world's people for the preservation of world civilization and the establishment of peace on our planet. [Television version substitutes "become" for "been"]

We are entering the new year of 1988 with the confidence that this struggle will grow, that practical new steps will be taken toward general disarmament, the strengthening of trust, and the broadening of peaceful cooperation between states.

We want not simply to preserve the world. We want it to become better, we want there to be greater justice and freedom in it. We advocate a world which asserts humanism in practice, which elevates the man of labor.

In implementing our social goals and developing socialism we see how closely this is linked with the resolution of global problems.

In this sense our restructuring also has global significance, which imposes an enormous historic responsibility on us. [Television version places "enormous" before "global"]

Comrades! May the new year of 1988 be a happy one for each of us, for our fatherland, for all honest people on earth. On behalf of the party Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers I greet you on the New Year holiday.

We address New Year greetings to the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries and to our friends throughout the world.

May the new year be a year of new victories for labor, reason, and humanity, and consequently for peace and good.

Happy New Year, dear Comrades!

Central Committee Economic Education Conference
PM231649 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Dec 87
Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Universal Economic Education"]

[Text] A conference to discuss the tasks of ministries and departments in improving the organization of universal economic education and restructuring mass economic education was held at the CPSU Central Committee on 18 December.

The participants included deputy ministers and chairmen of USSR and RSFSR state committees concerned with the production and economic training of cadres, senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, the Komsomol Central Committee, and sector trade union central committees, leaders of the mass information and propaganda media, chiefs of all-union and republic houses of political enlightenment, secretaries of party committees of ministries and departments, and directors of a number of Moscow enterprises.

A report was delivered by N.N. Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

It was stressed at the conference that successful implementation of radical economic reform is impossible unless there are fundamental changes in the work of all

cadres and they master economic methods of management. Working people's economic education is now an organic and indispensable element of the restructuring of the management of the economy.

The conference analyzed the work of managerial and trade union organs in implementing the CPSU Central Committee Resolution "On Restructuring the System of Political and Economic Education of Working People." It noted that many ministries and departments are slow in getting involved in its implementation, universal economic education is being poorly developed in labor collectives, and too little attention is being paid to retraining teachers and propagandists and providing them with books and other teaching aids. Preparation for the switch to new forms of production and economic training for cadres is not as active as it should be. Experience in enhancing the quality and results of classes based on a combination of mass economic education and vocational training is being poorly generalized.

Ministries and departments, economic leaders, and trade unions were instructed to fundamentally improve their work in the universal economic education of working people. Measures designed to improve the coordination of their activity and step up monitoring by party committees were determined.

CPSU Central Committee department chiefs and deputy chiefs took part in the conference.

Presidium Reviews Deputies' 1987 Activities
PM011331 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Dec 87
Second Edition pp 1, 4

[Unattributed report: "In the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] A USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session has discussed a report on the activities of the country's supreme organ of power in 1987 and the draft plan for 1988. Documents on this question particularly emphasized the importance of sending groups of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies on special missions abroad—special purpose visits to explain extensive Soviet foreign policy initiatives and also visits to individual regions and the world's "hot spots."

The main aim of the special visits by USSR Supreme Soviet deputies in 1987 has been to explain M.S. Gorbachev's program to eliminate nuclear weapons by the year 2000, the main aspects of the Soviet foreign policy course developed by the 27th CPSU Congress, and the need to switch to new political thinking, create a nuclear-free, nonviolent world, and form a comprehensive international security system. Statesmen and parliamentarians in foreign countries were informed in detail on our attitude to key aspects of Soviet-U.S. relations and

primarily on measures designed to eliminate intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and solve the problem of reducing strategic offensive arms while preserving the ABM Treaty.

Our principled approach to current regional conflicts and ways to resolve them and also to questions concerning human rights, a new international economic order, and developing countries' foreign debt was expounded and the close link between disarmament and development illustrated. Issues concerning bilateral relations were discussed in a broad context.

In view of the enormous interest shown abroad in the Soviet Union's restructuring process, USSR Supreme Soviet deputies briefed their foreign interlocutors on our country's policy designed to accelerate socioeconomic development and thoroughly renew and democratize all spheres of Soviet society life and drew their attention to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

A tangible sign of the course geared to ensure collaboration between parliamentarians and broad social forces on topical matters was the participation of a group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies led by K. Turysov, secretary of the AUCCTU, in the work of the 42d UN General Assembly (UNGA) session. UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar highly appraised the Soviet Union's efforts aimed at enhancing the role and importance of this universal international institution. A great deal of attention during conversations held in New York was devoted to the questions of freeing mankind from the threat of war and reaching agreements on key aspects of nuclear disarmament.

More than 30 parliamentarians of various party affiliation took part in conversations with the group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies led by V.V. Karpov, first secretary of the USSR Writers Union Board, which visited Britain. The conversations revealed quite a high level of mutual understanding on the whole with regard to a number of basic nuclear disarmament problems and other important areas. The British parliamentarians supported the proposal to resume bilateral cooperation in the environmental protection sphere and spoke in favor of collaboration in aid to developing countries, the fight against drugs, and a number of other matters.

The visit by USSR Supreme Soviet deputies led by Ya.Ya. Vagris, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to Denmark, Norway, and Iceland was used to elucidate the Soviet Union's approach to disarmament problems, primarily in Europe, including the creation of a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe. The Soviet representatives were received by Norwegian and Icelandic Prime Ministers Gro Harlem Brundtland and S. Hermannsson and the speakers of the three northern countries' parliaments, S. Jakobsen, T.G. Kristjansson, and J. Benkow.

The statesmen with whom the Soviet deputies met highly appraised the flexibility of the Soviet Union's foreign policy course since the Reykjavik meeting, which, according to them, is a new landmark in the complex, contradictory process of seeking ways leading to accords on key disarmament problems. They were unanimous that the course initiated after the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum aimed at restructuring, democratizing, and giving greater openness to Soviet society increases faith in Soviet foreign policy.

The group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies led by A.F. Ryuytel, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which visited Arab countries was received by M. al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution; M.U. 'Umar, general secretary of the Libyan General People's Congress; H. Mubarak, president of Egypt; R. al-Mahgoub, president of the Egyptian People's Assembly; 'A.H. Khaddam, vice president of Syria; M. al-Zubi, speaker of the Syrian People's Council; M. Messaadia, leader of the Algerian National Liberation Front Central Committee Permanent Secretariat; A. Brahimi, prime minister of Algeria; A. Filali, Moroccan minister of foreign affairs and cooperation; and other eminent political figures.

The visit was a clear demonstration of political support for the Arab peoples' struggle for a just Near East settlement. Both sides emphasized that an international conference under the aegis of the United Nations on Near East questions, which would involve all interested parties, could be an important instrument in solving the problem. The Soviet representatives explained our principled stand regarding the Iran-Iraq conflict and other topical problems of the region.

The visit by the group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies led by G.S. Tarazevich, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to Latin America prompted a lively response not only in the parliamentary circles of the countries it visited but also in their state, political, and social circles. They had meetings with Presidents M. de la Madrid of Mexico, D. Ortega of Nicaragua, O. Arias of Costa Rica, and A. Garcia of Peru, acting Venezuelan President J.A. Ciliberto, and also parliamentary speakers, foreign ministers, general secretaries of ruling parties, and other influential political figures.

The leaders of the Latin American states emphasized that in view of the dangerous hotbeds of tension persisting in the region the visit by authoritative Soviet representatives has particular political significance. They regard the visit as an effort by the Soviet Union to contribute to a peaceful political settlement of the situation in the Central American region through practical action and particularly by ensuring closer coordination between its own foreign policy measures and those of the Latin American countries. Welcoming the process of our

society's renewal, the Mexican president said that the restructuring in progress in the Soviet Union will help various countries to broaden their ties with the USSR in all spheres—political, trade and economic, and scientific and technical.

The group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies led by R.N. Nishanov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which visited Australia and New Zealand explained the importance of the program put forward in Vladivostok to strengthen peace and security and develop relations of good neighborliness and cooperation in the Asian and Pacific region as well as other Soviet proposals aimed at reducing military confrontation in this region.

During the ensuing conversations Australian and New Zealand political figures emphasized the favorable impact of the Soviet initiatives on the political climate in the region and the world as a whole. Australian Prime Minister R. Hawke, for example, said that the turning point reached in nuclear disarmament had been made possible thanks to M.S. Gorbachev's bold personal initiatives.

Australian Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade W. Hayden and New Zealand Foreign Minister R. Marshall emphasized that their governments consider the Soviet Union a leading Pacific power and understand its interest in establishing peace and building broad political and economic cooperation in the Asian and Pacific region. Both ministers noted that Australia and New Zealand "welcome countries trying to play a positive role in the affairs of the region" and regard the USSR's Vladivostok program as a major political act.

Special attention was accorded to the group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies led by P.G. Gilashvili, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, by the leaders of South Africa's "Frontline" States: Angolan President J.E. dos Santos, Zambian President K.D. Kaunda, Botswana President Q. Masire, Tanzanian President A.H. Mwinyi, Zimbabwean Foreign Minister W. Mangwende, and the speakers of these countries' parliaments.

It was noted that in view of the dangerous hotbed of tension persisting in the region the very fact of the "physical presence" of authoritative representatives of the Soviet Union's supreme organ of state power is a real sign of the Soviet Union's consistent, principled stand in support of the "Frontline" States and national liberation movements in South Africa. The group's visit was regarded as graphic evidence of our country's desire to coordinate its foreign policy measures more closely with the "Frontline" States, which must be promote the even greater international isolation of the racist Pretorian

regime, the exposure of the Republic of South Africa's Western accomplices, and a collective search for political solutions to the conflict situation in the South African region.

The leaders of foreign states and prominent parliamentarians welcomed the USSR Supreme Soviet's initiative to send special missions, stressed their importance, and spoke in favor of making them more extensive. They stated their great interest in continuing to receive "first hand" information in the future on the tasks currently being resolved in the Soviet Union and on our position regarding fundamental international problems.

Special missions by groups of deputies in accordance with the plan ratified at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium will also be actively continued in 1988. In this respect great attention will be paid to questions relating to the ratification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and progress in all other key areas of Soviet-U.S. relations, particularly in light of the joint Soviet-U.S. statement at summit level.

In addition to these special missions, conventional inter-parliamentary exchanges continued throughout the year during which a great deal of work was done to explain the Soviet Union's foreign policy initiatives. Our country was visited by 56 delegations and groups of foreign parliamentarians and USSR Supreme Soviet deputies visited a total of 53 states.

In 1988 the USSR Supreme Soviet will attach great importance to further developing and deepening traditional interparliamentary ties and, in particular, to exchanging official parliamentary delegations with foreign countries. The forms these contacts take will become more varied. We will continue to contribute to interparliamentary television linkups, "round tables," symposiums, and multilateral parliamentary meetings, and ties between standing parliamentary commissions will be broadened.

Questions of international activity are given the closest attention in the plan approved by a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution of basic measures to be implemented in the country's supreme organ of state power in 1988.

Ukraine Commemorates Anniversary of Soviet Rule
AU021440 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian
26 Dec 87 p 1

[RATAU report: "A Solemn Session in Kiev"]

[Text] On 25 December, on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the proclamation of Soviet rule in the Ukraine and of the formation of the Ukrainian SSR, a solemn session of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet was

held in the 'Ukraina' Palace of Culture, with the participation of representatives of party, administrative, and public organizations, of the working people of the City of Kiev and Kiev Oblast, and of Soviet soldiers.

In the presidium were V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary; I.A. Gerasimov, Yu.N. Yelchenko, Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, B.V. Kachura, V.A. Masol, V.P. Mironov, I.A. Mozgovoy, V.A. Sologub, A.A. Titarenko, V.S. Shevchenko, S.I. Gurenko, V.A. Ivashko, Yu.P. Kolomiyets, V.D. Kryuchkov, and P. Pogrebnyak, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo members and candidate members, along with party veterans, participants in the revolution, in the Civil and the Great Patriotic Wars, prominent workers of the national economy, scientific and cultural figures, military leaders, and leaders of Ukrainian progressive organizations abroad, who came for the jubilee celebrations.

V.S. Shevchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, opened the session.

Recently the Soviet Ukraine's working people along with all Soviet people, she said, commemorated in a solemn manner the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The beginning of the socialist epoch in the life of the Ukrainian people is indissolubly linked with this outstanding event.

Along with the Russian proletariat and with all revolutionary masses of Russia, the Ukraine's workers and peasants actively participated in the fierce class battles. The first All-Ukrainian Congress of the Soviets, held on 24-25 December 1917, was a turning point in the struggle for the victory of the ideals of the revolution on Ukrainian territory. In expressing the interests and the will of the absolute majority of the Ukrainian people, the congress proclaimed Soviet rule in the Ukraine and the formation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Representatives of all generations are present at this solemn session dedicated to a great festive day in the lives of the Soviet Ukraine's working people. There are party veterans, participants in the revolution, in the Civil and the Great Patriotic Wars, shock workers and innovators of the first 5-year periods and of the country's postwar renewal, as well as those continuing the relay race of revolutionary and labor accomplishments on our days.

We cordially welcome the leaders of a number of Ukrainian progressive organizations abroad, who came from the United States of America and Canada for our celebrations.

The solemn session was proclaimed open.

The anthems of the Soviet Union and of the Ukrainian SSR were played.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, delivered a report, "Under the Banner of the Great October, Along the Line of Restructuring."

The solemn session was then addressed by S.V. Ostapenko, CPSU member since 1926 and participant in the civil war; Socialist Labor Hero A.V. Storozhuk, hot rolling mill operator at the V.I. Lenin steel combine in Krivoy Rog, and member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission; M.I. Mazurkova, poultry farm manager at the Vatchenko Kolkhoz in Letichevskiy Rayon, Khmel'nitskiy Oblast, and Ukrainian Supreme Soviet deputy; Hero of the Soviet Union Lieutenant General M.K. Pilipenko, participant in the battles for the liberation of the Ukraine, and chief of the Kiev Higher Military Communications Engineering School; I.I. Storonyak, CPSU member since 1935, participant in the revolutionary movement in western Ukraine, and deputy to the 1939 People's Assembly; M.D. Hanusyak, Central Committee member of the Communist Party of the United States of America, member of the Executive Council of the League of American Ukrainians, and editor of the newspaper UKRAINSKI VISTI; O.M. Lukyanova, director of the Kiev Scientific Research Institute of Pediatrics, Obstetrics and Gynecology, member of the Soviet Women's Committee, board member of the Ukrainian branch of the V.I. Lenin Soviet Children's Fund, holder of USSR and Ukrainian SSR state prizes, and member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences; P.I. Kravchuk, chairman of the National Executive Committee of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians; and People's Artist of the Ukrainian SSR S.V. Danchenko, board chairman of the Ukrainian Theatrical Figures Union, Ukrainian Supreme Soviet deputy, and holder of a USSR state prize.

The participants in the solemn session were welcomed by representatives of the republic's Komsomol and youths, and by servicemen of the Soviet Army and Navy.

Before closing the solemn session, V.S. Shevchenko said:

The present solemn session permitted all of us to review in our minds the path of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in the 70 years since the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Allow me on your behalf and on behalf of all people of the Soviet Ukraine to express sincere and heart-felt gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the Soviet Government for their congratulations on the occasion of our great festivity, and for the wishes of new successes in socialist construction.

Within a few days we will begin 1988. Allow me to cordially congratulate you, and through you all the republic's communists and working people on the forthcoming New Year, and to wish you the best of luck, good health, and success for the benefit of our multinational socialist homeland.

The solemn session of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and Supreme Soviet was proclaimed closed.

The party anthem and the Internationale resounded under the ceiling of the "Ukraina" Palace of Culture.

A festive concert was then given by the republic's masters in arts and art collectives.

'Independent' Rights Seminar Held in Moscow
PM241039 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish
17 Dec 87 p 11

[Harald Hamrin dispatch: "'Continued Persecution'"]

[Text] Moscow—Dissidents are still being persecuted in Mikhail Gorbachev's reformist Soviet Union. And there are important differences on many issues within the "independent rights movement."

This was the conclusion reached by the independent seminar on human rights, which ended its 6-day session in Moscow on Tuesday [15 December].

"This is no surprise," chairman of the seminar's organizing committee Lev Timofeyev said at a press conference, referring to the differences which came to light during the seminar. "The actual point of departure for our meeting was that we wanted to seek and find the most divergent views on various issues."

Sergey Kovalev, another of the leading lights behind the seminar, spoke about an idea which could seem banal in the West:

"We are striving for a debate between people who think differently, even diametrical opposites," he said. "For us in the Soviet Union this is not a banal idea."

As an example of the differences which emerged, Timofeyev mentioned the attitude to the official conference on human rights, within the framework of the Helsinki process, which, according to a Soviet proposal, is to be held in Moscow.

"Some participants in the seminar attacked this conference, others were strongly in favor," Timofeyev said. "It seemed as if the farther from Moscow the participants had come, the more skeptical they were. But then the human rights situation is also more difficult on the periphery than in Moscow."

One of the foreign observers at the seminar, Susanne Osnos from the United States, also confirmed in an interview with DAGENS NYHETER that the debate was very heated on the question of whether it is possible or fruitful to seek some form of dialogue with those in power in the Soviet Union. The two extremes were represented by Sergey Kovalev, who thought that the independent rights movement should seek such dialogue with the official Soviet Union, and Sergey Grigoryants, editor of the magazine GLASNOST, who championed the view that dialogue is impossible and meaningless as long as political prisoners are under lock and key and dissidents are persecuted.

Grigoryants and Timofeyev also gave a detailed account of the harassment, threats, and arrests of the last few days which have affected people outside Moscow who tried to get to the capital to take part in the seminar.

"The working group, which was to discuss the problems of minority nationalities, had its work destroyed in practice," Timofeyev said. "The group's two coordinators were arrested in Lvov and falsely accused of drug smuggling."

A number of practical problems also affected the seminar's three plenary sessions. As in the case of earlier plenary sessions, it turned out on Tuesday that a hall that had been booked was locked, this time because of an unspecified "fire hazard."

Despite this Timofeyev described the seminar's work as a great success "which exceeded our expectations." Over 400 people took part in the plenary sessions—which had to be held in various private apartments—and in the various groups meetings. A total of around 200 speeches and addresses were delivered.

"The seminar shows that independent public opinion in the Soviet Union has galvanized its activities," Timofeyev said. "It is demanding to be allowed to take part in the general debate. There is a strong desire on the part of public opinion to be allowed to assume its share of responsibility in society, to break the state's monopoly on the debate."

It is of course debatable to what extent this will succeed. The official mass media have not, of course, said a word about the seminar, and its work is therefore completely unknown to the man in the street.

Nevertheless, it is a new phenomenon—and a not unimportant one—that so many people from the independent rights movement in the Soviet Union have been able to gather for 6 days and discuss a number of central issues. Another new phenomenon has been the presence of a number of foreign observers from, for example, the United States, West Germany, Sweden, Finland, France,

and Czechoslovakia (Charter '77). The international Helsinki delegation, which is based in Vienna, has also been represented by its Swedish executive director, Gerald Nagler.

The seminar did not adopt a closing joint document. However, the various working groups did make a series of statements: against the death penalty, in favor of the right to an alternative military service, in favor of the right of Christian conscripts to wear crosses, in favor of the right to run Sunday schools under the aegis of the church, against classifying information about the size of the defense budget as secret, in favor of a reassessment of the official view of the Prague Spring of 1968, and so on.

"We will now look into the possibility of passing on these and other statements to the authorities in some way," Timofeyev said at the press conference which closed the seminar. Speeches, resolutions, and other material from the seminar will also be published in GLASNOST.

First Unit of New Nuclear Power Plant Started
LD311708 Moscow TASS in English 1558 GMT
31 Dec 87

[Text] Kiev December 31 TASS—Unit One of the four unit first stage of the Khmel'nitskiy atomic power plant in the western Ukraine was put into operation today.

It comprises a water-cooled and water-moderated reactor with a steam turbine of one million kilowatt.

Specialists hold that reactors of this type are the safest and most reliable in operation.

IZVESTIYA Reviews 21 Dec Legal Conference
PM241009 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Dec 87
Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: "The Courts' Current Tasks"]

[Text] The participants of an all-union conference of leading personnel of the legal system have discussed ways of further strengthening socialist legality and law and order and intensifying the protection of citizens' rights and legitimate interests and the progress made in carrying out the CPSU Central Committee resolution on the question. The conference was held in Moscow on 21 December.

The keynote speaker, USSR Justice Minister B.V. Kravtsov, and other speakers talked about the courts' tasks at the present stage of restructuring. It was noted that legal provision for the grand transformations taking place in our country demands that the Soviet legal system gear itself to concrete deeds. The courts' efforts must be focused on the speediest implementation of the key tasks of the present stage—the further democratization of society and the implementation of a radical economic reform.

The conference participants exchanged opinions on problems associated with the entry into force of the USSR Law "On the State Enterprise (Association)" and the USSR Law "On the Procedure for Appealing to the Courts Against Unlawful Actions by Officials Infringing Citizens' Rights."

The conference examined experience and discussed proposals on further improving the courts' work. The participants paid special attention to questions of eliminating existing shortcomings in legal activity.

The conference was addressed by CPSU Central Committee Secretary A.I. Lukyanov.

Struggle Against Nonlabor Incomes Discussed
LD232050 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1900 GMT 23 Dec 87

[Text] In the USSR office of the Public Prosecutor:

On 23 December, the Collegium of the Prosecutor's Office of the USSR considered the matter related to implementation of the legislation on struggling against nonlabor incomes at trade and public catering enterprises. It was noted that no radical improvement has taken place in the work in the sphere of state trade. The USSR Ministry of Trade has not yet taken any effective measures for implementing the requirements of the law.

Theft and bribery; poor management; and overreporting, extortion, and concealment of goods are as widespread in the industry as before. Large-scale thefts in particular are increasing. The number of officials whose guilt of crimes of self-interest has been established is not decreasing. These violations are especially widespread in the Kazakh, Ukrainian, Uzbek, and Azerbaydzhian SSR's, in the city of Moscow, and in other regions.

Considering the points outlined above, Kondrashev, USSR first deputy minister of trade, and Kornoukhov, chairman of the main trade directorate of Moscow, were invited to the collegium of the Prosecutor's Office of the USSR for explanation. Rekunkov, general prosecutor of the USSR, tabled a proposal to the USSR minister of trade, Comrade Terekh, in which he demanded that practical measures be taken, aimed at removing identified violations of law, raising the effectiveness of the supervision by the ministry's apparatus, and increasing the responsibility of officials for executing the legislation geared up for struggling against nonlabor incomes.

State Acceptance Service Copes With Faulty Goods
LD242156 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1400 GMT 24 Dec 87

[Text] The State Acceptance Service is playing an increasing role in the work of our industry. However, in its insistence in the struggle for quality, this service has

aroused irritation in many managers of the economy. You see, since the beginning of the year it has returned goods to the value of R10 billion to have defects corrected.

A TASS observer describes the ways in which they try to combat the State Acceptance Service at some enterprises in the country. The main one among them is unevenness of production. For example, at the Petrozavodsk heavy paper-manufacturing machinery works, in the first 10 days of March they handed over 3.5% of the month's output and more than half of the output rate in the last 4 days. The Moscow factory Khromatograf handed over its production right at the end of the last 10 days in the month. This is true of the Kiev electrical precision instruments factory, the Vibrator works in Leningrad, and other enterprises under the Ministry of Instrument-Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems.

The State Acceptance Service has a hard time in the electrical engineering industry as well. Here they hand over 60-70% of all articles in the last 10 days of the month. It would seem that there are mass violations in production processes, and the inspectors are being forced to work around the clock without being able to take time off. In a situation like that it is easy to mistake shoddy workmanship for good workmanship.

The last 10 days in December is the end of the year. The TASS observer points out that, unfortunately, even now at many enterprises the only hope is one last spurt and in our country there is even less hope that the State Acceptance Service can stem the flow of faulty goods.

Traders' Attempts To Cheat Public Criticized
LD242339 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 24 Dec 87

[Text] The New Year holiday—how pleasant to have these festive events on the eve of the New Year. For the majority, the holiday is associated with childhood, school vacations, and presents. It has the smell of pine needles for them. But there are people for whom the traditional preholiday bustle is an opportunity to profit by deception, short measure, and fraud. And for them, the New Year has the smell only of money. And the money has the smell of the holiday. It is for that very reason that the BKHSS [Struggle Against Theft of Socialist Property] department of the main administration of internal affairs of the Moscow Gorispolkom started its preparations a month before the New Year.

Comrade Vasilyev, deputy head of the BKHSS department, told a TASS correspondent about the results provided by these preparations. He noted that so far the situation in trading is causing serious concern. A vivid example of this was the results of recent checks; here are the sad results: As a check, purchases were made at 51% of wholesale and retail associations trading from stands near subway stations, and the outcome was that every one of these salesmen was cheating the buyers by a

considerable sum, of up to R10. It is particularly disturbing that of 110 of those who took part in the check purchases, 106 were cheated—virtually all of them.

Certain infringements were brought to light when the work of wine and spirits stores was checked. Sometimes it is ridiculous rumors which are the cause for an increase in these infringements; they are put about by the shop clerks themselves for their own advantage. Recently, for example, a legend was born—evidently it has also affected our listeners as well—the legend that there was only 3 days' supply of vodka left in Moscow, and that they had started stockpiling it. In fact, the distribution of vodka and champagne is being implemented as usual, and in Moscow the network of stores is even being expanded—there are to be 400 more of them. But meanwhile the stocks of spirits will not be exceeded. A norm for the issue of spirits has at last been introduced—two bottles of vodka and two bottles of wine per person. The trade in beer has been permitted not only at specialized outlets. All these steps will make it possible to some extent to reduce the lines, obviously an abnormal phenomenon.

So, comrades, do not believe rumors. It is simply not necessary to fight against the wine stores and the bottles of vodka, but it is necessary to fight against the alcoholics.

Perestroika's Impact on Political Economy Viewed
PM231835 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Dec 87
Second Edition p 2

[E. Pletnev article under the rubric "Questions of Theory": "Political Economy and Restructuring"; boldface passages as published]

[Text] We have an urgent need for a fundamental breakthrough on the theoretical front founded on a strict analysis of the aims and prospects of our movement in their entirety. This idea expressed in party documents formulates the priority tasks for all of social science, including, of course, for the political economy of socialism, which must provide the theoretical basis of restructuring the economic mechanism.

But this is the question that people ask not once and not twice: Is the "old" political economy capable of this? Should we not aim for a breakthrough within the framework of some different, "new" political economy?

Such views err by failing to understand or fearing to acknowledge the circumstance that the gross miscalculations in economic policy in the not so distant past stemmed not from consciously applying the demands of objective economic laws but, contrary to the latter, from ignoring them in practice.

It is no coincidence that Lenin's gibe sounds so topical: "I venture to think in the old way that, after Marx, it is possible to speak of some other, non-Marxian political

economy only in order to make fools of the petits bourgeois, albeit 'highly civilized' petits bourgeois" (Complete Collected Works Vol 45, p 268). It is this Leninist "old way" and not modern "innovations" that constitutes the basis for a reply: What is required of political economy under conditions of restructuring and how to complete the radical economic reform in the working people's interests, that is, from the viewpoint of working-class political economy.

1.

Occupied with its chief ideological task of demonstrating the advantages of the new system, at the initial stages of socialist building the political economy of socialism did not concentrate on analyzing the processes taking place in the nucleus of the economic system—in **relations of ownership of the means of production**. And social ownership itself was treated with a clear predominance of the formal-legal aspect (possession and disposal of funds, material assets, and so forth).

But the logic of working-class political economy requires us to see in socialist ownership the unity of the working people's formal and actual supremacy over productive forces. Whereas statutory socialization of the means of production is achieved by one-off measures (such as the "Red Guard attack" on capital), actual socialization is accompanied by incredible economic difficulties which require a mass of contradictions to be overcome. The improvement of socialism essentially consists in the movement of both forms of socialization toward each other, as it were. And conversely: Their noncoincidence—in form and in practice—measures the distance to the highest stage of the new mode of production.

Political economy realized earlier and more profoundly than other sciences that what is logical in social development certainly does not coincide automatically with the historical course of things. The historical situation sometimes took shape in such a way that the processes of statutory and actual socialization not only did not move toward each other but even diverged. For the most widespread forms of production socialization by capitalist monopolies in our country in prerevolutionary times were cartels, syndicates, and trusts—all associations of a single-sector category. Under postrevolutionary conditions too such a strained situation dragged on for entire decades with regard to the key resources—coal, oil, steel, cement, and so forth—that there arose a need to set up state sectoral departments—trusts, main administrations, people's commissariats. That system of management fully justified itself during the years of socialist industrialization, and particularly under wartime conditions when state organs of economic management were formed in close connection with production of the basic types of arms.

But the predominance of the sectoral principle of management in the postwar economy increasingly hindered the socialization of production in practice, the intensification of intersectoral ties, the emergence of multisectoral complexes (combines) for the joint production of

end products, and the optimization of the life of technologies. Striving to prolong and strengthen the monopoly position of their "own" sector, departments oriented the production spheres and enterprises under their jurisdiction toward extensive expansion. The increased spending on that was covered by subsidies from the state budget and by a "planned" rise in the prices of their "own" output.

Sectoral management of the national economy hindered the intersectoral transfusion of resources from top to bottom. The monopoly position of sectoral departments producing basic products hindered the measurement of the cost of the latter, according to K. Marx, by "the normal amount of labor involved in the production of an article."

In the course of elaborating the strategy of restructuring of economic management effective measures have been found to surmount narrow departmental and parochial barriers which hold up the processes of production socialization, concentration, specialization, and integration [kombinirovaniye] and the development in the economy of diverse integration processes, particularly horizontally. The "Basic Provisions for the Radical Restructuring of Economic Management" adopted by the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum provide for the transfer of enterprises to full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing to be combined with the granting to them of rights to set up common production facilities on joint principles and to form an association, right down to a complete merger when this is dictated by the interests of cooperative and technological ties and efficient work. This document states that it is necessary to pursue a policy of ensuring that union organs have under their jurisdiction in the long term several thousand large science-and-production, sectoral, intersectoral, and territorial sectoral associations capable of independently implementing the entire "scientific research and development-investment-production-sales-service" cycle.

These strategic decisions of the Leninist party's headquarters reflect the actual achievements of economic theory in understanding the processes of the irresistible socialization of production and the improvement of relations of social ownership.

2.

The question of production relations proper is directly bound up with the problem of in-depth study of the **distributive relations** of socialism stemming from them. Relations of distribution directly affect people's economic interest in production and the motives for their participation in creating the blessings of life. "The chief question in the theory and practice of socialism is how to create on a socialist basis stronger incentives for economic, scientific, technical, and social progress than under capitalism and how most efficiently to combine planned leadership with the interests of the individual

and the collective. This is a most complex question, the answer to which has been and is being sought by socialist thought and social practice," M.S. Gorbachev has pointed out.

But, of course, in their research into distributive relations economists rely on the basic principle of socialism: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work." But this reliance seems somewhat one-sided. Almost all attention in economic science is focused on the second part of the formula: "to each according to his work." Yet the resolution of the task of justly rewarding every labor contribution stems from the answer to the question of whether the abilities of individuals, their talents, skills, and knowledge, and their manpower as a whole are correctly distributed among the links and floors of social labor. The nature of the objective processes of the optimum distribution of the socialist society's labor resources among work places and the mechanism for accurately "aiming" each individual, according to his abilities, at the most productive sphere for bringing his creative potential to light remain outside political economic analysis.

Underestimation of the chief social asset—the increasingly developing man-creator—has caused some of our economists to reckon on deliberately allowing certain unemployment in order to "encourage" the labor zeal of citizens who have kept their jobs. There is nothing more illiterate in theory or more harmful in practice than these "recommendations"!

Of course, the freeing of living labor under the impact of new technologies takes place not only under the first historical form of machine production—capitalism—but also under the conditions of its second historical form—socialism. In the first instance the bourgeois society uses scientific and technical progress to accumulate capital, increase its pressure on hiring conditions, and worsen the working people's position. But in the second instance the society of socialism, underpinned by the labor-saving role of progressive technology, has the possibility of elevating the freed workers, retrained at public expense, to more productive kinds of employment.

Under conditions of the transition to the path of intensive development and the growing complexity of the demographic situation our industry is called upon to replace living labor with labor-saving equipment increasingly widely as the trickle of new workers into the river of social labor grows narrower.

Departmental "monopolies" fenced off from each other do not help here to realize the elementary demands of the socialist distribution of the work force in the course of production progress. The intention of assembling "in case of emergency" the most valuable—labor—resource leads to the overmanning of enterprises, while the notorious unreceptiveness of sectoral monopolism to new technology ties almost half the people employed to heavy physical labor.

Political economy textbooks frequently reduced the meaning of distributive relations under socialism to material interest, and the latter to labor remuneration and the size of wage rates, scales, and bonuses. But however great the role of the size of the "share" of a worker's participation in distributing the end product of gross social labor, the working person's lively and always contentious interest in his impact on this overall result should not be left to one side. This increases society's potential for enhancing everyone's share in the blessings of life being distributed.

Economic science proceeds from the premise that the individual under socialism acts as an equal member of an economic cell—an association of enterprises of different sectors, not departmental corporations with their narrow sectoral kinds of "distribution" of life's blessings.

Regardless of the departments' inventiveness in means of encouraging their own (sectoral) workers to work, including public (also sectoral) funds, the search for ways to mobilize the interests of every working person for continuous training and, thus, for work which elevates him in society and in the family is becoming the central concern of political economy.

3.

Our political economy has devoted far more attention to the third link in the economic basis of any society—**exchange**. True, the actual situation in the economy—chronic shortages, the prices scissor in domestic and foreign turnover—resulted in political economic thinking being entirely taken up with one form of exchange of economic activity among people—the material [opred-mechennyy] form—that is, with commodity-money relations. Whatever a political economist wrote about, his readers were accustomed to at once recognizing whether he was one of the "commoditytes" or one of the "anticommoditytes." They attached these labels to an economist depending on whether or not he considered commodity production organically characteristic of socialism.

However, the heated abstract-theoretical discussions accompanied by ideological accusations sometimes hid an indifference—which united both camps—toward a fundamental question of theory and practice: What does production of a particular product (commodity) cost society in terms of socially essential, not individual, expenditure, and how close are the sectoral prices of outlays to the intersectoral (cost) prices? The emergence of theoretical articles which asserted that commodity-money relations under socialism directly express the social nature of labor probably attested most clearly to the extent to which the profound understanding of the link between the origins of commodity-money relations and the incomplete socialization of production in practice had been lost. In practice the tenacity of some of these dogmas and the spread of the way all enterprises

were approached as independent commodity producers led to the result that some of the associations which had been set up found themselves in a state of "active collapse."

Truly scientific investigation demands not only a systematic study of all forms of exchange of economic activity among people but also the advancement of the person with his multifaceted abilities to the center of this sphere.

But once again sectoral departmental barriers rise up in the way of molding the comprehensively developed working person, and they tie him to a single profession not only for life but from generation to generation. Whereas in real life the opportunities for mutual exchange of economic activity among people are broader where the standard of the worker's general school training is higher.

4.

Finally, the fate of the last link in the system of production relations—the sphere of **consumption**—is quite amazing. The founders of working-class political economy proved that consumption has an active effect on production, creates it, and sets it a goal. However, this final phase in the chain of production relations not only was not examined on training courses and in political economy textbooks but also found itself outside society's field of vision as part of the economic system. Even in defining the unified national economic complex our state's Constitution moved relations among people as regards consumption from the chapter on the economic system to the chapter on sociocultural development.

This clearly impoverishes the subject of political economy, for it is called upon to study both relations among people as regards production of the means for life (means of production and consumer goods) and life itself. Hence the inadmissibility of excluding from the attention of political economy such an initial economic cell of society as the family.

Without studying it, it is impossible to get through to the mechanism which shapes the ultimate demand or to the problems of raising the quality of goods and services and, thus, prices and charges, housing conditions, and the distribution of domestic duties, that is, employment productive for society.

In many ways the theoretical unelaborated nature of questions of personal (family) consumption in political economy gives rise to disregard for the structure of demands and consumption, for disproportions in the correlation of the material and spiritual blessings of life, for shortages and lines, and for deformations in assessments of comfort and material and spiritual assets in general.

By literally resurrecting the classic thesis that the use values of goods constitute a subject for commodity research, our political economy excluded consumer demand from its analysis, thereby cutting itself off from the path to building a scientifically substantiated structure of consumption.

By activating research into the economic nature of man's needs, political economy is capable of freeing the economy from the tight bonds of the idea that the only productive labor is labor in the sphere of physical production. Analysis of the growing spiritual production broadens scientific ideas on the potential of the production complex and on national income which does not come under the cost of the material substratum. If political economy does not include the relations of those employed in the spheres of education, science, information, services, health care, the mass leisure industry, tourism, and sport within its subject and, thus, also in the range of recommendations to the national economy, all our hopes for their accelerated development will remain insubstantial incantations.

A brief survey of the level of elaboration of the four components making up the subject of political economy shows that this science, like a daughter of its times, distinctively combines the high level of development of socialism as a whole with neglected sectors and spheres. The real insights of political economic thought, which back in the sixties formulated the urgent need to break the ossified economic mechanism and switch from the economy's extensive movement to its intensive growth, are all the more valuable.

Yes, political economy deals with profound, long-term trends. But this gives rise to the paramount role of "the concentrated expression of the economy" (that is Lenin's assessment of politics) and its primacy over the economy. For if, V.I. Lenin used to say with the slight craftiness which did not leave him at the most desperate times, the economy answers the question of how we are to avoid dying of hunger, politics replies: If we do not wring our own neck before then (see Vol 42, p 279).

Working-class political economy today sees the revolutionary restructuring of the economic mechanism, the irreversible smashing of the bureaucratic braking machinery, and the extirpation of departmental monopolism as the concentrated expression of the profound requirements of the very mode of production in raising it to a qualitatively new level.

Azerbaijan Prosecutors Falsely Accuse Expert
PM021901 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Jan 88
Second Edition p 3

[Own correspondent Z. Kadymbekov article: "Severe Reprimand for the Professor. The Story of a Republic Prosecutor's Order"]

[Text] Baku—...Experienced petitioners advised him to resort to extreme measures: to wait for the moment when the republic prosecutor was heading for his car, intercept

him, and in the short instant beg for a meeting, or send another cable hinting at the possibility of some personal tragedy. There is no other way to get to see such a high-ranking official. But Professor Sultanov did not wish to demean himself or act against his conscience.

"I had no one to turn to in my misfortune," he wrote to PRAVDA, "and had no right or opportunity to defend myself. I was accused anonymously and insulted, and nobody even wanted to hear what I might have to say to justify myself. So where is glasnost and democracy? Or do they only exist for the newspapers? I regard the actions committed against me as unlawful. The entire paradox is that the law has been broken by people who have been entrusted at the highest level with supervising its observance—republic prosecutor's office officials."

For Doctor of Medical Sciences Professor Agabek Ashumovich Sultanov, chief forensic psychiatrist of the republic, this story began quite unexpectedly. At the end of May 1986 he was summoned, unsuspecting, to the Ministry of Health and familiarized with an order signed by I. Ismaylov, Azerbaijan SSR prosecutor. It stated that the prosecutor's office was examining the criminal case of one K., accused of large-scale embezzlement of state property. In the course of the investigation it proved necessary to ascertain his mental state. Expert psychiatrists including Professor Sultanov, the document noted, displayed a lack of objectivity patently aimed at shielding the criminal from responsibility. For this the professor was being given a severe disciplinary punishment.

Quite a serious accusation. You do not have to be particularly perceptive to realize that in the opinion of the prosecutor's office the professor's motives were not unselfish. The republic Ministry of Health severely reprimanded the doctor of sciences. But the more deeply I probed into the Sultanov "case," the more convinced I became of not only the rashness but also the absolute groundlessness of the conclusions reached in the order.

Let us try to sort things out in order. For people who are unfamiliar with the specifics of forensic psychiatric investigations it must be explained that they are carried out only in response to an order from an investigator, a prosecutor, an inquiry agency, or a court ruling. So in August 1986 the investigator ordered another, third expert investigation of the suspect's mental state. Experiencing difficulties in making a diagnosis "because the clinical picture was not clear," the commission members unanimously decided to send him to the V.P. Serbskiy General and Forensic Psychiatry Research Institute in Moscow. How could this be regarded as reprehensible? But the Republic Prosecutor's order is extremely critical of this step taken by the Baku experts: "...While not disputing the validity of the previous expert investigation and its conclusion that K. was fully responsible for his actions, the commission under the leadership of A.A. Sultanov quite unjustifiably insisted on a new expert investigation being carried out at the Serbskiy Institute in Moscow."

Reading these lines, I was constantly astonished how easy it appears to be to distort the facts as such and their essence. First, the commission which decided to send the suspect K. to Moscow was chaired by K. Kyazimov, chief physician of the Baku Psychoneurological Clinic, and was not under "the leadership of Professor A.A. Sultanov." I met and spoke with each of the commission's members—psychiatrists A. Abdullayeva and Z. Dzhaforova and the chairman himself. They were unanimous: Professor Sultanov did not bring any pressure to bear on the commission, and the decision was adopted collectively on the basis of the condition of the person under investigation. Second, why would the commission have disputed the competence of the members of the previous expert team, as the order states, and their conclusion that K. was fully responsible for his actions? And how could prosecutor's office officials who are not specialists in the field of psychiatry claim that the medics' decision was unjustified?

"If I had been in the commission members' place, I would have done exactly the same," M. Pishnamazade, chief physician at No 2 Clinical Psychiatric Hospital, told me. "Indeed, it should have been the investigating authorities who took the decision to send him to Moscow, since both inpatient and outpatient examinations had already been carried out in Baku."

My interlocutor's judgment can be trusted: For almost 40 years he has been engaged in forensic work and is familiar with all its nuances. Incidentally, he was the chairman of the previous commission which deemed K. fully responsible for his actions. Moreover, Sultanov was also a member of that commission.

"Indeed, when we examined him," Pishnamazade explained, "he was mentally healthy. But almost 2 months elapsed, during which he was under investigation, between our examination and the subsequent one. Reactive psychosis, for example, can develop in a matter of minutes. Today a person is responsible for his actions, but tomorrow, under the influence of the most diverse factors, his medical state can change sharply; and I believe that this is what happened to this person."

The Baku psychiatrists' opinion was also confirmed by an expert examination carried out in Moscow on 23-24 October 1986 (remember this date!). Here is an extract from its findings: In K. "it is currently possible to observe a temporary pathological disorder of mental activity in the form of a reactive depressive-paranoid state which has developed approximately since August 1986 (when the expert examination was carried out in Baku—Z.K.) as a result of the legal investigation situation which the subject has found stressful." Like their Baku colleagues, the psychiatrists at the leading institute did not consider it possible at the time to make a final decision and recommended that K. be sent for treatment to a psychiatric hospital and be examined after he emerged from his pathological state.

The republic prosecutor's office order also includes a reference to this Moscow examination carried out on 24 October 1986. The only thing is that the thrust of it is diametrically opposite: K. is responsible for his actions and his behavior is faked.

Is it possible that the same commission could have reached two mutually exclusive conclusions on the very same day? Do not be in a hurry to accuse the medics of unconscientiousness. Because the Moscow psychiatrists' decision adopted in October would have meant that Sultanov and his colleagues were right, the prosecutor's office could think up anything and it would be better than completely omitting to mention it and putting that date on the results of an expert examination carried out at the same place, the Serbskiy Institute... almost 6 months later. That is, after K. had received treatment and was fully capable of facing the investigating authorities.

Why did the prosecutor's office officials need to juggle the facts in this way? Was it not in order to reinforce their story—contrary to common sense and stopping at nothing—that the professor was guilty, that he tried to shield the criminal. The same purpose is served by the story that when on an assignment in Moscow, Sultanov inquired, not without ulterior motives, about the progress of the expert examination at the Serbskiy Institute. On what are these allegations based?

I. Gaidov, chief of the republic prosecutor's office department for the supervision of investigations and inquiries in internal affairs organs (now Sumgait city prosecutor), thanks to whose zeal, to all appearances, the Sultanov "case" was initiated, said that V. Strelnikov, prosecutor of the Main Investigation Administration of the USSR Prosecutor's Office, had informed him about this, and that the latter had allegedly learned it from the institute director himself. But I have in front of me Serbskiy Institute Director Academician G. Morozov's reply: "The administration has no information about Professor Sultanov's influencing the course of the expert examination of K." I. Gaidov's words were also refuted by Prosecutor V. Strelnikov...

Unconfirmed data, unfounded conclusions, juggled facts: Is it conceivable for an accusation to be built on such a flimsy foundation? Is it possible that the author of the order did not know the power of a document signed by a republic prosecutor? Or maybe that was precisely what he was counting on?

"How could I not believe such a document?" Azerbaijan Deputy Minister of Health R. Guseynov, who signed the order severely reprimanding Sultanov, implored. "After all, it is there in black and white: 'The prosecutor has ordered.'"

Such is the hypnotic power of a document signed by a ranking official. Yet Ragim Mamedovich has known Sultanov for several years and has no doubts at all about his honesty and decency. As he said:

"I trust him 100%!"

There might have been the intention to set up a commission and check out, if not the prosecutor's arguments, then at least the professor's explanatory memorandum. Why else should the republic Ministry of Health demanded such a memorandum? But people in the Ministry and everywhere else that Sultanov turned pretended that nothing out of the ordinary had happened.

A severe reprimand: So what?—people mocked the professor. "It is not as if you had been sentenced or arrested."

The reprimand will be lifted in time, of course. But what about concepts such as people's good name, honor, unstained reputation, and dignity? Sultanov's fundamental decency has been called into question: How is it possible to accept that? You cannot wash away dirt "as if nothing had happened"; after all, you don't get reprimanded just for being late for a lecture.

Why did the prosecutor's office need this story involving the "exposure" of the professor? Why of the many psychiatrists who took part in expert examinations together with Sultanov was it he who was blamed for the "shortcomings" which turned out to be fabricated, as we have seen. No matter how hard I try, I can find no other reason than an arrogant wish to "bloody the nose" of a man who is revered and respected in the republic. Look how principled we are, they say, no matter who is involved...

This stance, in the view of zealous officials, was probably supposed to please the republic prosecutor, since it can be assumed that it was not I. Ismaylov himself who drew up the order. It cannot be denied that he seeks uncompromisingly to combat violators of the law. And there is plenty of scope for this in Azerbaijan. Why, in that case, invent nonexistent violations? Is it perhaps because that is easier?

...Some 10 years ago I had occasion to attend a lecture by A. Sultanov. Expressive language, wit, convincing logic—it was a pleasure to listen to him. I still remember the topic of the lecture: "Do we need stress?" Sultanov is a completely different person now—crushed, on the brink of cracking up. Here you have a real-life answer to the question: Do we need drawn out negative stresses?

"Believe me," Agabek Ashumovich told me, "as a specialist I can clearly assess my state: Much more and I will need a psychiatrist myself. I can only see one way out—get the documents together and go to Moscow."

Sultanov is not alone. Many people from Azerbaijan are at the moment knocking on the doors of the capital's institutions. This is because, as in Sultanov's case, elementary questions have not been resolved locally. People are coming to Moscow to get justice. In terms of petitions to the USSR Prosecutor's Office, Azerbaijan comes third after the RSFSR and the Ukraine. Knowing how Sultanov fought unsuccessfully for the right at least to be heard, it is not difficult to understand why.

"Ilyas Abbasovich," I asked the republic prosecutor, "why did you not at least see Professor Sultanov?"

"Why should I myself have to see him?" he replied. "Comrade Babayev, my first deputy, saw him. Besides, I have no doubt that Sultanov is guilty."

But what could Babayev have said during his meeting with Sultanov? A deputy, even a first deputy, does not have the right to rescind an order issued by the republic prosecutor himself, and furthermore he was not familiar with the case. The meeting with him was no more than a mere formality.

...Somehow I remain convinced that, had the prosecutor agreed to meet Sultanov, this whole long and unpleasant story would not have happened. The prosecutor, overcoming his preconceptions, could have sorted everything out in accordance with justice, in accordance with the law which he has been entrusted to defend.

'Pamyat' Beliefs Likened to Those of Nazism
PM011501 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 19 Dec 87 p 4

[Ye. Losoto article under the rubric "Reflections on the Mail": "Too Similar!"]

[Text] This article analyzes the editorial mail we have received in connection with the article "Oblivion" published 22 May this year, and the selection of responses to it published 24 June under the headline "What Has 'Pamyat' Forgotten."

Let Them Speak in Their Own Voices! [subhead]

"I cannot understand the newspaper's stance: Who needs to shield Yids and Freemasons, and why? After all, it is clear to any sober-minded person that the phenomenon of stagnation in social life and the economy is the handiwork of 'the children of Israel.' Nor can I understand why attempts are made to discredit genuine patriots like K. Andreyev, D. Vasilyev, A. Gladkov, and V. Shumskiy who are waging a struggle against the forces of concealed reaction. The latest selection of letters included a letter from I. Lugovskiy suggesting that the article 'Oblivion' be sent on to the USSR Prosecutor's Office so as to institute criminal proceedings against 'Pamyat's' leaders. This (expletive deleted—Editorial Office) intends thus to harm the cause of restructuring."

The letter is signed thus: I. Ivanov, Russian. No address.

The next letter is signed off with a real name: L.P. Kamenetskaya, Leningrad, full address supplied.

"Toward the end of June I came to spend a week with friends in Moscow. On Saturday, 27 June, we went to see an impromptu exhibition and sale of art and craft work at Izmaylovskiy Park. A crowd of some 30-40 persons had gathered in the avenue leading to the trolleybus stop. A lean individual dressed in shorts, aged about 55 and possessing a speaker's talent, stood in their midst.

"But what was he saying? He was saying that our government is made up of Freemasons, that the party is leading the people up a blind alley and is incapable of planning the national economy. He was demanding freedom of action for his organization and was expressing arrant nationalist views. Strange as it may seem, people around him applauded him.

"I approached a militiaman, but he told me that there is freedom of speech and democracy in our country.

"Forgive me, but this brings to mind Germany before 1933, and the consequences of that are well known. This propaganda is intended for philistines and is finding keen audiences."

A letter from Moscow, written by Yu. Fedin, 27 years old, full address supplied:

"Lenin hated Russia, but why must I share his views? The tsar's family was butchered, the nobility was annihilated, the bourgeoisie was dispossessed, the churches were destroyed. So what was left? Not all monuments have been destroyed? Simply because there were not enough bulldozers to go around.

"Had the land taken away from the peasant during the collectivization period been returned to him and had he been able to pass it down as inheritance, he would be having the children he now does not want to have: Why produce farm laborers for the state? This is why the Russian people's enemies cannot bear to even hear Stolypin's name mentioned!

"And how about culture? There was no room for genuine Russian artists in Russia... Just Mayakovskiy—this Ivan of unknown ancestry, standard bearer of cosmopolitanism, hater of Russia and Russian culture, raging advocate of the destruction of Russian monuments..."

Well, and so on and so forth, one feels ashamed to continue quoting.

Someone could ask me: have there been many such letters in your mail? Quite a few. We are dealing with a phenomenon which has deep roots.

"Greetings, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA staffers! (Except Jews and members of national minorities). We fully back 'Pamyat.'

"V.I. Ulyanov (Lenin) wrote: 'Shame on the accursed tsarism...' because he himself was... (expletive deleted—Editorial Office)." And so on. Signed: "We of Piter."

Some of the letters concern me personally as author of the article "Oblivion."

A letter postmarked Rostov-na-Donu, but the sender's address on the envelope reads: Kustanay, Teacher Training Institute. Here is the text:

"Esteemed Editorial Office! Why do you bother to print Losoto, this impudent Zionist? Her deliberations reek of Stalinism! She claims to be a current affairs writer. It is time for KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA to restructure itself and switch from demagoguery to essentials." Signed thus: "Justice."

Sergey Obratsov, whose letter with its sharp criticism of anti-Semitism was published in the earlier selection of responses, also received, in his turn, a "response": Persons unknown sent to his home an envelope containing a swastika and threats.

I believe that you have already perceived the logic used by these people: Bolshevik Jews who hated Russia demolished and corrupted everything that was primordial Russian. And it was supposedly hatred for the Russian foundations that drove them to accomplish the revolution, to expropriate that which the exploiters had plundered, to conduct the collectivization, and to put churchmen in their places. The party subsequently continued and still carries on its pernicious work.

Such is the logic used by these people in its undisguised form. In real life, however, it is more often than not concealed behind a smoke screen: "Exposure" of actual shortcomings, mistakes, and excesses of the past and present. From the other side of this smoke screen, some shortsighted person could perceive this counterrevolutionary ideology as revolutionary. The rejection of revolutionary transformations could be perceived as rejection of bureaucracy, stagnation, and lack of culture. Even the hatred for the Communist Party could be perceived as party principledness. This is why the smoke screen is there!

You may possibly recall from the article "Oblivion" that some "Pamyat" orators arm themselves with "theoretical" works which present the theory of Marxism in a distorted form, but a form suitable for "Pamyat." I wrote that they use, for example, one of V. Kozhinov's latest works.

There followed a reply from V. Kozhinov, penned by a real gentleman (see NASH SOVREMENNİK No 10, 1987). Owing to lack of space, I am forced to omit many

exquisite references to my modest person. I will just mention my particularly harmful effect and my desire to malign the whole of classical literature. There is no space to repeat other epithets and verbs denoting "exposure."

The newspaper lacks a journal's space to respond according to the tempting principle of "Lash out! Flail away!" But V. Kozhinov's reply does contain a pearl which I find it impossible to ignore. Namely that, because of my criticism of our prerevolution backwardness and patriarchal attitudes, he proclaims me to be an ideological follower of Trotsky, and proclaims Trotsky to be, correspondingly, my precursor.

In my view, my opponent has put himself in a nice spot. This exquisite idea is a gem to be discovered by a future researcher into the history of morals studying the topic "labeling." Labels always indicate the rigorous taste of their inventors.

Now let me show you something from the cauldron of provocations. I received a letter from Candidate of Economic Sciences E. Rozenbaum from Voroshilovgrad:

"Esteemed Editorial Office! I've read Ye. Losoto's article 'Oblivion.' It is high time to have a go at all those anti-Semites. Jews constitute the most cultured and most advanced section of society; without them mankind would have been ruined a long time ago, and this generates the malice of all lesser beings. Thanks to centuries of training and selection, we Jews are best suited for intellectual and creative labor—look no further than the genius of Einstein, the genius of Mandelstam, the genius of Raykin. Who can be juxtaposed to them? This is why every people must do the work at which it is the best."

A case of, as the proverb has it, the pot calling the kettle black. I made some inquiries and obtained confirmation of something that I did not, but some of my readers may, need to have confirmed. No such person exists.

These are the methods a vile phenomenon uses to grow roots. Who benefits from this? Primarily the Zionists: Anti-Semitism helps to rally Jews along national lines. Anti-Semitism means agitation to emigrate from the country.

Could Zionism exist without anti-Semitism? As a noteworthy phenomenon—hardly. Yet, it wants not just to exist but actually to strengthen and expand. Even at the cost of whipping up anti-Semitism! There is no other method.

Anti-Semitism encourages Jews to rally along "blood lines" and forms them into a nationalist opposition. Anti-Semitism is the dream of Zionism.

Our "fighters against Zionism" bite the Zionist hook even when it has no bait!

Unfortunately, the mailbox shows that there are some people in our country who have really been fooled and have gone off their heads trying to calculate the "percentage" makeup of blood and to track down those who have "sold themselves to Zion" among their neighbors at home or at work.

If only the Zionists were the sole beneficiaries of all this!... Counterrevolutionary tenets exist just like revolutionary ones. Their carriers are not the Zionists alone. The ideal in the shape of the "Promised Land" and the ideal in the shape of the patriarchal smallholder's life with the sound of church bells (in other words the "ideal" prerevolution Russia), despite their external differences, share one and the same counterrevolutionary essence. Any enmity between them is a matter of internal contradictions and nothing else.

As far away as possible from socialism!—this is the main point. As to how far away—beyond the border or back into the past, beyond 1917—these are just minor details.

Historical and Philosophical Roots [subhead]

Ideas do not develop out of thin air. The one we are talking about also has its history and its lineage.

I have before me A.S. Shmakov's book "Secret International Government" [Mezhdunarodnoye taynoye pravitelstvo], published in 1912. Its author, together with Purishkevich, belonged to the so-called "Russian People's Alliance," a Black Hundred pogrom organization committed to Russia's "deliverance" from "Jewish intrigues."

Just listen to this:

"Esteemed gentlemen!

"...Never before has there been such a massive accumulation of Jewry in any one state, and therefore never before has there been an example of such a dangerous tension in this regard—reaching culmination point with extraordinary swiftness, especially since 1905 when Judaism suddenly spread throughout the Russian land and almost destroyed its independence."

One main idea runs from the very first pages right through to the end of the book: The cause of social turmoil is "the ineradicable nature of the basic qualities of the kahal" (kahal is the name for the Jewish community). Jews are "the putrefactive ferment of the state's decomposition."

"...Ricardo, Lassalle, Marx, Engels, Singer, Rosa Luxemburg, and other 'benefactors of conscious proletarians,' in other words cannon fodder placed at the kahal's disposal to demolish the centuries-old foundations of the Aryans' state order."

According to Shmakov, the first Russian revolution in 1905 was a "revolt by the Jews." Revolutionary ideology is a "nonsense of kahal socialism." This is how he justifies the pogroms: "The pogroms were directly brought about by the brutality of the Jews' revolt." "...Zionism and social democracy are in a state of criminal cohabitation."

Revolutionaries are "Yids": "All these Yids from Kazan, Irkutsk, Saratov, and Moscow..." Marx is "the son of Judas, both he himself and his son-in-law Engels, a Jew like him..."

The worldwide kahal is in command of Freemasonry, social democracy, and socialism. Freemasonry is the "service of Satan." "Its main task is to demolish thrones and altars."

"And as for the satanic spectacle which Moscow witnessed in order to please the Jewry—at the funeral of one of its members, the totally unknown Yiddish veterinary surgeon Bauman..."

Shall I go on? Have you had enough?

Yids and Freemasons weld the Russian people together, cause clashes between parties and movements, gain victories over Russian writers... They assassinated Aleksandr II and Stolypin...

Why did they need to do that? They have their goal, right up to "having the Jews almost form a provisional government in the form of a 'soviet of workers deputies.'" And the "Judean spirit" is atheism, the ideas of collectivism and internationalism.

This must be enough. I think that many readers must have realized that, according to Shmakov's logic, they are "Yids and Freemasons." I hope that the quotations from Shmakov may be of help to some of the naive audiences of "Pamyat's" leaders.

...A whole bunch of letters arrived from Sverdlovsk. "Pamyat" is very active there. It goes under the name of "Otechestvo" [Fatherland] there. It is headed, as in Moscow, by totally unknown representatives of the creative intelligentsia.

Fortunately, real forces have joined the struggle in Sverdlovsk over the last few months and offered resistance without waiting for the central press to act. This was told to us in the letters, together with detailed reports of events.

Let me outline very briefly the contents of three letters. Their authors are V. Shur (who did not indicate his profession), A. Pertsev (party bureau secretary at the Urals University Philosophy Faculty), and Yu. Kiryakov (dean of the same university's History Faculty).

Tape cassettes containing recordings of speeches by "Pamyat" representatives at a meeting with Leningrad artists started circulating in Sverdlovsk. Bureaucratism, restructuring, Zionism, the Freemasons—all this is fused into a single mass and creates a stunning impression. Later on, the "Pamyat" representatives arrived in Sverdlovsk in person. They announced that Lermontov and Yesenin were assassinated by "internal enemies."

One of the visitors tried to prove that Aleksandr Nevskiy, Dmitriy Donskoy, and the heroes of the Battle of Kulikovo gained victory only thanks to the fact that they prayed before battle. And now orthodoxy must gain victory over "heavy metal."

Here is a quotation from one of the speeches: "The war is already being fought, a harsh and invisible war. How would you treat me if I were to come to your home, spit on the floor, defile it, and abuse your family? Are you not likely to tear me to pieces and throw me out of the window? How much longer must we endure, brothers and sisters?"

The authors of the letters to the editorial office describe these meetings as "well-orchestrated political provocations." One single idea runs repeatedly through the guest performance speeches by "Pamyat's" leaders in Sverdlovsk: "The primordial enemies of Russian culture, destroyers of national self-awareness, and today's adversaries of restructuring are the 'Masonic-Zionist circles,' an enemy who must be 'ground to dust' and against whom it is necessary to unite in committees of mistrust and committees in defense of restructuring."

I would ask readers to pay attention to the last few lines. We have before us an obvious attempt to create the embryo of an opposition party... The fact that, according to the sign, this organization is more orthodox than a rabbi, changes nothing. I do think that this is the embryo of an opposition political party, and specifically the embryo of a neofascist party.

Other and rather curious "informal associations" have also reared their heads in the conditions of glasnost and democracy. How do you like, for example, the "League of Monarchists?" They called the editorial office and threatened to blow us up for criticizing "Pamyat's" leaders. In my view we have before us the bud of all kinds of leagues and associations. It may open and blossom, given the appropriate conditions...

Too Similar! [subhead]

It is remarkable that Shmakov glorifies tsarist Russia for the fact that he actually has a rostrum: "Would not be allowed anywhere else in Europe."

Yes, Europe did not develop such a "theory" by itself. The "theory" traveled abroad in the transports of the White Guards. After Denikin and Kolchak, it was picked up by Hitler. Europe developed the appropriate practice, including even the "final solution of the Jewish question."

Germans were taught that the economic difficulties in the country were caused by Communists, social democrats, and Jews. As far as Hitler was concerned, Gogol was a Bolshevik, Heine was a Jew, and Bizet was a Negro (all French in general were negroids). Hitler said that he could not be bothered with "all sorts of Yid stuff" and "intellectual claptrap." It was all the same to him—Marxist, Bolshevik, member of the intelligentsia, Slav, Jew.

When I am told that the speeches by instigators from "Pamyat" appear rather "psychical," I reply: We speak of the "raving Fuehrer," yes, raving, but at some point in time this raving individual was followed by the masses. Possessed philistines need a raving leader, not a Thaelmann. In the conditions of pluralism, the raving individual came to power legally, he was elected.

People, Fucik wrote, be vigilant!

Now I would like to bring to the readers' notice two letters from front-line fighters. One of them Soviet, the other a German Communist who fought against fascism. These people's words must be heeded.

The first one, written by Moscow teacher B. London:

"You can count me as a supporter—I am a teacher of Russian language and literature who fought for the motherland throughout the Great Patriotic War.

"I remember: The first time I came across a leaflet dropped from a German plane in the fall of 1941, I immediately saw words that I, a Komsomol member and Soviet citizen, considered sacrilegious: '...Lenin's Yid-Communist delusions.' I swear to you, this leaflet gave me more faith in our coming victory than any other political talk.

"It is amazing how 'throwbacks' of the past recur eternally, how tenacious N. Kukolnik's specters are—'The Almighty's Hand Delivered the Fatherland' [reference to 1834 play of that name by Kukolnik, extolling the idea of patriotism], a hand which was scornfully rejected by progressive people and which 'accomplished three things: It delivered the fatherland, earned a decoration for the author, and suffocated Polevoy' [reference to early 19th century progressive Russian historian and critic]—The specters of Uvarov's official 'popular spirit' [reference to early 19th century Russian politician who advanced the slogan of "orthodoxy, autocracy, and popular spirit"], of the Black Hundreds, and of other pseudopatriots.

"I spent 2 years working in Cuba, whose people set an example of genuine militant internationalism. I worked as one of a group of Soviet specialists of various nationalities—it included Russians, Ukrainians, Armenians, Jews, Belorussians. We all taught the Russian language to the Cubans and were proud to put down 'Sovietico' (Soviet) under the heading 'Nationality.' And we will continue to do so!"

Let me present the author of the second letter.

Frits Markuze is German. He became a Communist while still a youth. That was the time when future SS-men were beginning to draw up a program of struggle against "Marxists, Freemasons, Jesuits, and Jews."

When the fascists came to power, Frits Markuze escaped from the "Vaterland." On 22 June 1941 he enlisted as a volunteer at a military commissariat in order to go and fight the fascists.

He was a front-line radio broadcaster. When the fascists discovered who was actually broadcasting propaganda in a "purely Aryan" language, they arrested his mother and brother. They both perished in the concentration camps.

In 1943 Frits Markuze lost an arm and was evacuated from hospital to the rear. The former front-line radio broadcaster today addresses our readers:

"I have carefully read newspaper and journal articles about 'Pamyat's' leaders and discovered that they have much in common with the German fascists.

"When D. Vasilyev, one of the 'Pamyat' Association's ringleaders, screamed: 'Tear the enemies of the people apart and throw them out of the window' and 'We'll grind to dust anyone standing in our way,' I automatically recalled the hysterical screams by Hitler, Goebbels, Streicher, and other ringleaders of the National Socialist Party of Germany.

"The 'Pamyat' Association's ringleaders would like to see Russia 'Judenrein' (clean of Jews). They are demagogically exploiting the slogan 'Down with the enemies of restructuring,' just like Hitler's men exploited the German people's striving for socialism.

"Judging by the content of the speeches by 'Pamyat' ringleaders and their offhand attitude toward the revolution and the civil war, people sharing this ideology were the first to have truck with the fascists during the Great Patriotic war and to join the polizei because they hated bolshevism and Soviet power. They make a fetish out of the term 'Russian by nationality,' just like Hitler's men spoke about the Aryan race. They would like to awaken among the Russian people a feeling of belonging to a superior race, just like Hitler's men did with the German people. All this entails terrible consequences."

This is where we end. Our objective was to display a historical cross section of the phenomenon, its ideological basis, its similarity with domestic and foreign relatives, and to give its supporters and opponents an opportunity to have their say. In any case, it provides food for thought.

Television 'Democratizing Instrument' in Society
LD242310 Moscow TASS in English 1855 GMT
24 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 24 TASS—"Soviet television has made its first steps to becoming a truly effective instrument for democratizing the society, for ensuring more openness," said Leonid Kravchenko, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. In the course of an hour and a half he and other leading officials of the committee answered today by videocommunications questions from residents of Moscow and other Soviet cities on work on television in conditions of perestroika [restructuring].

Television has a good ear for the truth, Kravchenko said. But how often in the past our TV "ears" had a poor hearing, and the television "eyes" had a poor eyesight. The popular *Vremya* (Time) programme (which is daily watched by 80 percent of the TV viewers) was notable for information ostentation. Now the situation is changing: The official news section has become shorter and more specific, the general analytical level of the programme has bettered.

The daily "Perestroika Searchlight" ["Spotlight on Restructuring"] programme, which has been recently started, functions in close cooperation with the *Vremya* programme. The "Searchlight" brings into sharp focus the miscalculations and the errors that have not been eliminated.

Soviet television has begun more boldly going over to live broadcasts. Speaking in the series of TV dialogues "On the Way of Radical Reform" on new methods of economic management are prominent economists, sociologists, senior officials of ministries and departments. The reverberations of these programmes explaining the gist of the changes is very great: Tens of thousands letters, thousands of telephone calls to the studio.

The character of international broadcasting is noticeably changing. The Soviet television audiences are ever more actively engaging themselves in discussions on topical problems of the present and arguing with the ideological opponents. The openness of judgements is particularly characteristic of the television hook-ups with the Americans and Finns, Frenchmen and the Swiss, Japanese and Britons. And yet as Vladimir Dunayev, a Soviet television correspondent in the USA pointed out, international journalism is in need of further perfection. It should participate also in preparing its own "Perestroika Searchlights". As an interesting subject for the first issue

he proposed to touch upon the instance when an American businessman had to meet with 260 officials of five Soviet ministries to get a go-ahead for a joint project. The effort took him three years. The journalists also believe that the showing of such self-critical stories on central television will serve towards eliminating certain obstacles standing in the way of the development of Soviet foreign trade ties.

Magazine Poetry Chief Welcomes Emigre's Success
PM251251 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 47,
22 Nov 87 p 11

[Interview with Oleg Chukhontsev, head of the NOVYY MIR Poetry Department, by Gennadiy Zhavoronkov: "In the Next Issue of NOVYY MIR Magazine"—first two paragraphs are a MOSCOW NEWS introduction]

[Text] When the Nobel Prize in literature was awarded to Joseph Brodsky, who has lived in the USA for the past 15 years, the Western press maintained that now the poet's works will never be published in his country. However, we were told that in the near future the NOVYY MIR magazine would publish some of Brodsky's works.

Our correspondent Gennadiy Zhavoronkov interviewed Oleg Chukhontsev, the magazine's poetry department head:

Corr: When did the idea to publish his poems in "NOVYY MIR" appear?

O. Ch: If I have before me the page proofs of his poems, it means that the publication has nothing to do with the Prize of the Swedish Academy. For us, as for everyone, it is unexpected. When we were sending the poems to the printers' we were guided only by the desire to present the diverse trends of his poetry.

For me Brodsky is part and parcel of modern poetry. Looking through the manuscripts of young poets, I became convinced that many of them experience the influence of his creative work. This is what prompted the idea of presenting the "original" to readers.

Corr: Judging by press reports, in April 1987 you met the poet at the international congress in the USA on problems of world literature. Was it the very first invitation to cooperation?

O. Ch: Yes, it was. In a conversation with me, Joseph Brodsky expressed the desire that his poems be published in NOVYY MIR, not those which are, to some extent, known in this country but the works of the past 15 years.

Corr: Brodsky's life has been complex. After leaving the USSR, he taught at universities and wrote poems and prose. What was his attitude to the changes taking place in our country?

O. Ch: It is difficult for me to speak about his stand. From American writers I know that he is generally a man reserved in his judgements. But he attentively follows the development of our poetry, and regards Russia, as previously, his poetic homeland.

Corr: At one time he was Anna Akhmatova's pupil. Is this influence felt now in his poetry?

O. Ch: His poems are complicated, but there is a recognizable fusion. They contain the tradition of the 20th-century Russian classical literature, echoes of English Metaphysicians, and the impact of American poetry. Nevertheless, he is a poet of great individuality, possessing clear rhythm, diverse melodies, and, at the same time, bilingual thinking. His tragic irony, somewhat resembling the "world grief" of the past century's romantics, is comprehensible to us, people of the late 20th century. As to linguistic universalism, Joseph Brodsky resembles to some extent Conrad and Nabokov. Brodsky writes prose, as he put it, in English, but poems - in Russian and with pen.

Corr: Some journalists are inclined to regard the Nobel Prize awarded to the poet as a political action and not a recognition of his literary merits. What is the attitude of the laureate to the Prize?

O. Ch: As far as I know, he said that the Prize will help enhance interest in the West in Russian poetry.

Corr: And what was your attitude to this?

O. Ch: I am happy that a modern Russian poet has been commended. As for my official position, it became an additional load. The office gets many telephone calls from foreign and Soviet readers who want to specify when and what poems will be published. I can say that the poems by Joseph Brodsky as planned, will be published in the December issue of NOVYY MIR. The author has approved the selection.

Artists' Union Board Meeting Reported

LD222048 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1653 GMT 22 Dec 87

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A plenary meeting of the Board of the USSR Union of Artists took place in Moscow today. Participants considered questions connected with preparations for and the holding of the 7th USSR Artists' Congress which opens 19 January next year. The report, which was delivered by Comrade Ponomarev, chairman of the

union's board, stressed that the general social and economic situation of past years and the stagnant phenomena generated by it have affected the level of artistic culture. But despite this, art has developed and works of high social meaning have appeared. At the same time, the process of restructuring begun in spiritual life has revealed many unresolved problems requiring serious efforts on the part of members of the creative union.

One of the important directions of the union's work for propagandizing the fine arts is exhibition work which is needed in the search for new forms and new methods. The new edition of the statutes of the union and the draft clause on its Central Auditing Commission were also discussed at the plenum.

Lags Behind in Restructuring

LD221705 Moscow World Service in English
1600 GMT 22 Dec 87

[Text] A heated debate has marked a full-scale meeting of the Soviet Artists' Union in Moscow. Speakers noted that the fine art was yet to enjoy the spirit of renewal and restructuring that had already manifested itself in many fields of Soviet life. Both viewers and the press described as unsuccessful a huge exhibition that was recently shown at Moscow's key exhibition hall. Papers blamed some of those who exhibited for idealizing reality and for lack of imagination. It was pointed out at the full-scale meeting that the Artists' Union, with a membership of almost 20,000, was yet to reveal its creative potential and had to energetically improve its work.

Writers Union Helps 'Internationalist Servicemen'

LD232257 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 23 Dec 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] At the initiative of the USSR Writers Union, a sociopolitical club called "We Internationalists" has been set up at the Central House of Men of Letters.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent N. Shakhova] Songs created by the internationalist servicemen in Afghanistan ring out in the foyer. They convey the feelings of the young patriots who are selflessly defending the gains of the April Revolution in the Republic of Afghanistan.

"So comrade, sing wherever your song is, and my fatherland will come closer to me," wrote Stovba, who died in combat and was posthumously awarded the Order of Lenin.

A book containing 99 songs, written from the heart, was recently published by the "Molodaya Gvardiya" publishing house. The book contains poetic essays by Stovba, Verstakov, Kerzhenko, Gudo, and many others. With pain in one's heart one can see that not all these amateur poets are still alive. But their songs remain and their exploits will be glorified in new songs, verses and

poems. These are brave, concentrated faces. These lads are continuing the exploits of the troops of the Great Patriotic War, and at the soiree the writers (Albertas Laurecukas) and (Kim Selkhov) spoke about them and about their meetings with them on Afghan soil.

The internationalist servicemen themselves, coming on to the stage, will talk about the friendship with the Afghan people, and about the fact that they left many friends there. But there will also be sounds of alarm in this conversation: The internationalist servicemen need the help and attention of each one of us.

The friends want to help those who have lost their health and who still do not have normal everyday conditions, and the Union of Writers wants to help them in this. This is a very important and, of course, not an easy task.

Nikolay Prokhorov was awarded two Orders of the Red Star and now, for his peaceful labor, has been awarded the Order of Lenin. Nikolay, you have probably met many friends here today and you have been discussing together the creation of what seems to me a very important club.

(Lathe Operator N. Prokhorov, identified by caption) At today's meeting a great many of the men have been expressing their ideas and thoughts about what we already have here, and the problems which exist.

[Shakhova] You spoke frankly?

[Prokhorov] Yes, very frankly: We hid nothing about what is happening. In my view, just that speaks volumes. About 7,000 men who have carried out their international duty have already been transferred to Moscow. This is a very huge, a great—I believe...

[Shakhova]...force?

[Prokhorov] A huge force. The initiatives are good ones, and if they are put together, then this, I think, is an immense cause and of immense benefit. [end recording]

Reevaluation of Komsomol's History Urged
PM231919 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 22 Dec 87 pp 1-2

[Article by A. Galagan, senior scientific staffer of the Komsomol Central Committee Higher Komsomol School Scientific Research Center, under the rubric "Polemical Notes": "Not Endeavoring to Please, or Why There Are So Many 'Gaps' in Komsomol History"]

[Text] ...Silence: This is how I would define the state of Komsomol history today. Debates on burning questions in other history disciplines surfaced long ago in the pages of mass newspapers and journals, and people argue and speak about this. But there is not a word anywhere about the problems of Komsomol history. To use Vysotskiy's

words, "neither friends nor enemies are to be seen...." What is this long-standing vow of silence, if not a desire to leave everything as it was and cover up the accumulated sores?

"What is needed is serious research into Komsomol history, in all its complexity, without simplification or omissions but without falsification or sensationalism," the Komsomol Central Committee report to the 20th congress states. If those words had resounded from the platform of any of the recent Komsomol congresses, they could have been treated with the traditional yardstick: as a good intention that imposes no obligation. But the 20th congress proclaimed the policy of restructuring all Komsomol life. This obliges us historians to analyze critically all literature and studies on Komsomol history and to correlate their contents in a careful, extremely well-considered manner with the actual processes that have taken place in the Komsomol during its almost 70-year biography.

About Sweet Syrup, or 1,000 Dissertations [subhead]

In recent decades the extensive path of development has predominated in Komsomol history (as in all of social science, incidentally). The number of candidates' dissertations on Komsomol history subjects defended since the war is close to the 1,000 mark; however, quantity does not turn into quality. The reasons? You have only to read any of the "indexes" of these dissertations to see for yourself that the predominant place is occupied by the subject "Party Leadership of the Komsomol" in different variations.

There is no denying that this subject is one of the most topical scientific problems. But it must also be solved by scientific means! In the overwhelming majority of cases, it is resolved at the level of an agitational leaflet, and not one of the best quality. Party leadership (in the spirit of fossilized dogmas) is primarily interpreted as the adoption of some decisions affecting the Komsomol. As a result, many studies are nothing but a chronicle of decisionmaking. According to the perverted logic of such "studies," the more resolutions there are with regard to the Komsomol, the better and more effective the leadership of the Komsomol. It is clear, however, to every sober-minded person that there are more of all kinds of resolutions where there is less order.

Instead of interpreting past and, particularly, present practice, researchers prefer to "invent" more and more new principles of party leadership. As a result, as much as 7 years ago, a scientist counted them up in dissertations and found 54, neither more nor less! There are probably more of them now. The chief attributes of dissertations on this subject are: descriptiveness instead of scientific analysis, justifying past social practice instead of explaining it, the preset and a priori nature of conclusions, the naive lifelessness of recommendations, and the portrayal of the historical process as a procession

from one victory to the next, invariably in one direction—up a steep “dialectical” spiral. A particularly great deal of sweet syrup was poured out in “studies” devoted to the period between the mid-sixties and the mid-eighties. It was only from the platform of the 27th CPSU Congress and in the speech of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the 20th Komsomol Congress that the formalism of party leadership of the Komsomol in past decades and the serious omissions in the business of educating young people were spoken of honestly and openly for the first time. The artificially enhanced “dissertability” of this subject gave rise to a lot of juggling and overt speculation of various kinds. Unrestrained eulogies [epitaisii] for certain party organs and still thriving party leaders, endless mentioning of the party “in vain,” with no apparent need for it, and the selection of exclusively positive materials and facts became the rule. A concept of profound meaning is almost always equated with abstract fiction, as a result of which it acquires a mocking resonance. For example, the following subject for a dissertation was announced in one of the southern republics: “Party Leadership of the Activity of Komsomol Organizations in the Artificial Insemination of Fine-Fleece Breed Sheep.” Is there any need for comment here?!

Starting in the thirties, the thesis that the Komsomol's strength lies in party leadership began to assert itself persistently. Undoubtedly of its own accord, the correct and indisputable thesis acquired excessively radical meaning. I have before me an abstract of a “fresh” candidate's dissertation that asserts in the very first paragraph: “Party leadership of the Komsomol is the basic condition of its functioning.” Is that so?

It was universally recognized even before the First Russian Komsomol Congress that the most important source of the Komsomol's strength and social responsibility (as for any other youth or children's organization) was its independence. It is precisely the level of independence of a particular organization that determines the success or failure of its work. Every researcher can cite hundreds of instances of documentary confirmation of this; however, this subject precisely is most overlooked by scientists.

The field being worked by our historians is, generally speaking, extremely narrow and limited. The Komsomol's activity in the social and ideological areas is not studied. The complex peripeteias in the sphere of Komsomol building are an untouched topic. It has come to light that young historians have no skills in studying the Komsomol's historical experience. I could continue the list of general discrepancies between Komsomol history and the parameters of genuine science, but I think what I have said is sufficient to convince you of its parlous state.

History Without Dramatis Personae [subhead]

Now let us look at some burning or, rather, “dark” problems of Komsomol history, about the grandiose paraleipsis roaming from book to book, and finally, about direct falsification.

The question of the Komsomol's precursors is one such problem. This is essentially a question of the communist youth movement's historical and socioclass prerequisites in our country, of the Komsomol's origins.

From the beginning of the thirties and, particularly, after the publication of Stalin's “Short Course of All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) History,” this problem was resolved in a very simplified manner: The origins of the communist youth movement lie in the general proletarian movement, and the Komsomol's origins lie in the Bolshevik party's leadership; the Komsomol has and could have had no precursors. Even the Socialist Union of Working Youth in Petrograd, the “Third International” Working Youth Union, and the Youth Union under the Moscow Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party (Bolsheviks) in Moscow were denied the right to be considered the Komsomol's precursors. Any genetic link whatever between the Komsomol and the progressive student youth unions led by Bolsheviks, or the proletarian youth unions not led by the Bolshevik party (for example, the “Work and Light” organization in Petrograd), is resolutely not established (and, thus, is simply rejected).

The question of the socioclass composition of the Russian Komsomol's first organizations was resolved just as dogmatically, contrary to the historical realities, in the vulgar sociological spirit of the “Short Course.” The dominant scheme here was the one according to which the Russian Komsomol's first organizations must invariably consist either entirely, or primarily, of working youth or, should worst come to worst, that the initiative in setting them up should come from workers. Thus, the “Petrograd model” of the origin of the Russian Komsomol's first cells was recognized as orthodox and right, even in regions where there had been no working youth at all when they came into being.

This is a doctrinaire and essentially a falsified interpretation of the past. In many instances, in fact, precisely student youth had been the chief nucleus of the first Komsomol cells. Even though in recent years a number of interesting articles have appeared that truthfully illuminate the role of progressive student and pupil youth in the revolutionary process, many works (particularly studies of the history of local Komsomol organizations) still portray this category of youth as a force hostile to the Komsomol. The pages of modern works devoted to the struggle against the numerous oppositionists and deviationists in the Komsomol's ranks are imbued with the spirit of extreme animosity nurtured by the “Short Course.” However, it has long been known that the overwhelming majority of them were neither enemies of the people nor distorters of the party's political course. They did not always say empty and useless things but

were no less concerned for the Komsomol, and perhaps more so, than certain formal adherents. In short, it is necessary to study the deviationists more, in order to assess them accordingly, and not practice attaching labels (all the same, we cannot surpass in this the frantic zealots of the "Stalinist course" of the thirties through the fifties).

However surprisingly, I must also speak of another problem. It is incredible but true that of all the history disciplines, Komsomol history is the least populated. I have read dozens of dissertations without seeing a mention of even a single surname of a figure in Komsomol history. A meticulous reader could not draw up from articles a list even of Komsomol Central Committee first secretaries over all the years, not to mention figures of more modest rank. The "unpopulated" studies, which are immoderately crammed with diverse numerical material, schemes, diagrams, and theoretical arguments on natural laws (frequently invented), are not history but historical sociology or, at best, sociological history. Komsomol history works are least of all characterized by historical method. That is the same as driving a car without wheels or swimming without water. It is no coincidence that, as the authors themselves morosely joke, these compositions frequently have just three readers: two opponents and the typist who typed the text. A sad picture! It reflects the trend cultivated over decades to ignore the personal factor and the scornful attitude toward the "cogs" of the historical process.

The meaning behind this trend has long been clear: There could be no individuals in our history, apart from the person of the Great Teacher, while the rest are just people, and for the most part, suspicious people. Something else is not clear: Why now, under conditions of democracy and glasnost, are the former instructions commanding archivists to vigilantly guard the personal files of specific Komsomol figures from researchers still fully in force? By depersonalizing history we not only increase unjust suspicion with regard to the innocent victims of the arbitrary rule of Stalin, Yezhov, and Beria but also deprive Komsomol history as a scientific discipline of its most attractive essence. "All of history," V.I. Lenin taught, "consists of the actions of individuals, and it is the task of social science to explain those actions...."

Almost 50 years ago the French historian Marc Bloch wrote in the "Apologia of History" that it is a science not only about the past. It is primarily a science about people in time. About people! "History wants to see people," he declared with conviction. "Whoever has not mastered this can, at most, become a laborer of erudition. But a real historian is like a fairytale ogre. He knows that booty awaits him where there is a smell of human flesh." But we lay out the past on all sorts of abstract little shelves on which it is difficult for a person to fit at all, and even more difficult for someone out of the ordinary.

In addition, scientists are dominated by a fear of making fools of themselves. How can they say a good word about a Komsomol figure of the twenties, say, if they do not

know precisely the reasons for his disappearance toward the end of the thirties ("suppose he really...")? By keeping quiet, researchers exacerbate the tragic posthumous fate of historical figures, without themselves wishing this. But such are the rules of the game in historical "science." They have apparently been set by no one, but nevertheless they are rigorously applied to this day.

Incidentally, about our publications. Such popular genres of scientific prose with the reader as the historical outline, the essay, the historical study, the treatise, the polemical note, and the political biography of a Komsomol figure long ago vanished. The strictly academic genres that are still used (the monograph, the article) have also changed, and not for the better. If it is an article, it has a string of page references (in professional jargon they are called "beards" or "foot cloths"), a doleful list of statistical data, and an obligatory set of abstract "practical" conclusions. I do not think I will be far wrong if I say that quotations in our works have long functioned not as arguments but as a kind of spiritual bribe to the thriving authorities.

Special mention must be made of the language of compositions on Komsomol history. Here, as an eastern saying proclaims, language really has been given in order to hide one's thoughts. Historians are indistinguishable from each other and are devoid of individuality. I account for this sad phenomenon by saying that any writer or journalist, for example, believes (or at least hopes) that he is creating for the broad reader, that is, for the people. But for a long time, for more than half a century, historians have been composing for "internal consumption," i.e., for each other, according to the insurance principle: "We write one thing but have something else in mind." Is it worth being especially concerned about beauties of language in this case? Your brother historian will, all the same, realize where you have overdone the cited delight ("That is customary"), where you have called black radiant white ("That is necessary"), what you have skillfully overlooked ("This cannot be mentioned"), what you have inordinately praised ("This is required"), and what trifle you have elevated to the rank of an event of worldwide historic importance ("Everyone does that"). The language of Komsomol history is, unfortunately, a language of hints, half-truths, and frequently even deliberate falsity. It is a language stemming from the false social purpose of history as a science—a purpose prescribed for it in the thirties. This purpose consisted in justifying the past, not explaining it, or, if explaining it, then not from positions of Marxist-Leninist objectivity but the political situation.

...And Without Historians [subhead]

The position of a researcher who has chosen Komsomol history as his path (and these are, as a rule, young people) resembles the position of a nonswimmer throwing himself into the water. There are many obstacles on this path. There are reproaches and frequently even sharp

condemnation from his colleagues in the department ("A frivolous subject!"), problems with the qualified scientific leadership, difficulties with publications, and so forth. But then the work has been completed and the dissertation defended. What now? Now the difficulties with publications of research into Komsomol history remain as before, and the young scientist is included in work according to the department's profile.... This is the result: Of the almost 1,000 people who defended dissertations on Komsomol history, no more than 100, according to the most optimistic estimates, are continuing to study this subject, while pessimistic estimates (I adhere to the latter) suggest no more than 40-50.

In the past, Komsomol history as a scientific discipline was artificially "attached" to CPSU history. Those who defended dissertations on Komsomol history began to acquire the scientific specialty 07. 00. 01.—"CPSU History." But over the past 15-20 years, the new discipline has become cramped within the framework of being a makeweight for another science. CPSU historians have been objecting more frequently and more sharply (and quite justifiably) to the treatment of Komsomol history as a part of party history. Komsomol history is up in the air, as it were, and belongs to no one. Obviously, the time has come to establish such a specialty in the schedule of higher academy courses. Only in this case can we count on successfully resolving problems of Komsomol history proper, of which we have accumulated enough.

It is necessary, for example, to unite researchers into Komsomol history with employees of the Komsomol Central Archive and Komsomol publishing houses. The experience exists here: There was the legendary Istomol [Commission for the Study of Komsomol History], under whose auspices approximately 400 different books and brochures on Komsomol history designed for very diverse categories of young people were published centrally and locally during the twenties alone. However, the Istomol and its 120 local branches were abolished in 1931, and the experience of its activity was consigned to oblivion. We now have the Central Archive, three publishing houses, and the Komsomol History Department (within the structure of the Higher Komsomol School Scientific Research Center), but all these "combat units" operate in an uncoordinated way.

Incidentally, for decades now the Komsomol Central Archive has been sheltering in merchants' grain stores in a prerevolutionary building. The few researchers lucky enough to "penetrate" the tiny reading room experience real torment, owing to the cramped space and other inconveniences. The Komsomol Central Archive's branches are in a worse situation, particularly the branch in Spiridonyevskiy Lane, where very rare documents are quietly perishing.

The Komsomol's 240 periodicals do not include a special journal on Komsomol history. But such a journal is needed. It could rally around itself and educate talented

popularizers of Komsomol history among young people; it could provide the desired outlet for the memoirs of Komsomol veterans. These very interesting testimonies of time are now gathering dust in domestic archives, and then they disappear without trace through the fault of negligent heirs. With the journal's help, it would be possible to coordinate the research process more successfully in the sphere of Komsomol history. I personally find it hard to imagine how knowledge of Komsomol history can be propagandized among the masses of young people without a specialized mass publication.

These are just some of the problems I wanted to speak about. These problems demand a solution, and not only because we are on the threshold of our Komsomol's 70th anniversary. "Badly (that is, superficially, prejudicially—A.G.) interpreted history, if we do not take care, could in the end also arouse mistrust in better understood history"—this warning of M. Bloch's should apply in full to us, too.

Book Banned in 1961, Now Published, Mentioned
LD232057 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 23 Dec 87

[Excerpts] In its first four issues of the new year, the magazine OKTYABR is offering its readers the novel by Vasily Grossman entitled "Life and Fate" ["Zhizn i Sudba"]. We have literary critic Professor Anatoliy Georgiyevich Botcherov, Ph.D., at the microphone:

[Botcherov] The novel was completed at the end of 1960. It was submitted to the editorial office in 1961 but it was banned from publication and has only now been published. One can understand why. Things are directly mentioned in the novel about which we are only beginning to speak openly now. [passage omitted]

Grossman writes about difficult pages in our history connected with collectivization, connected with mass repressions, and connected with the breach of the law by the state, and other matters. [passage omitted]

Economic

IZVESTIYA Editorial Views Economic Reform
PM311208 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Dec 87
Morning Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Economic Reform: The Task for Tomorrow"]

[Text] On the eve of the transfer of a large group of industrial enterprises to self-financing and full economic accountability, the editorial office held a meeting of directors of a number of leading plants and production associations in the capital and leadership workers from ministries and departments. Just one question was on the agenda—the degree of readiness for working in the new way. Readers will find the "roundtable" materials on page 2 of today's newspaper.

It is a matter of days until the end of the 2d year of the 5-year plan. There is in effect no time for slow starts—it is necessary vigorously to set about the job, casting aside doubts and having no fear of the difficulties that are inevitable in a radical reform. In 1988 more than 60% of industrial output will be produced by enterprises working on full economic accountability and self-financing.

The problems associated with this are experienced by all enterprises, even leading ones. The Novokramatorskiy Machine Building Plant is to go over to the new way of working. What is the mood in the collective today? There are, of course, difficulties. The lag in commodity output reached R7 million in the first 11 months of the year; contract deliveries are only 96.5% fulfilled. Consumers did not receive a significant quantity of rolling equipment and consumer goods.

"We live in hope of successful work in the 3d year of the 5-year plan," V. Yermakov, deputy general director for production, told the editorial office. "The norm set for distributing profit enables us to create all the necessary stocks. If there is a worry, it is resources—as yet we are short of 4,500 tonnes of welded metal structures. We produce much specialized equipment to individual designs. In terms of cost this amounts to 24-27%, but in terms of labor consumption it is 40%. In the conditions of self-financing, it is a priority task for us to reduce the labor-intensiveness of products."

The wide transition to the principles of self-financing and full economic accountability coincides with the entry into force of the Law on the State Enterprise. Thus transformations of the economic machinery are taking place in two planes at the same time. To create the most favorable economic milieu for every collective, to consolidate the collective's rights, and at the same time to increase its responsibility—that is the crux of the matter today. But alongside the democratization of management, we must not forget the need to strengthen discipline and the fact that an enterprise is obliged to be guided by control figures, state orders, and long-term norms. Here the Kramatorsk machine builders and many other collectives must step up their work markedly.

Perhaps we should not expect immediate results. All the same, it is very distressing that certain enterprises which have gone over to self-financing have even worse indicators than those that are working in the old way. Here the cause does not, of course, lie in the system itself, but in poor preparations and a formal, poorly thought-out transition to the new conditions. Let us not dramatize the situation, especially since many components of the new economic mechanism need adjusting and perfecting. But it is clear—and the initial experience of work in conditions of self-capitalization and self-financing attests to this—that a real restructuring is not taking place everywhere. Time and again the profits from leading enterprises are diverted to cover gaps and patch up deficiencies in laggard sectors.

The question of self-financing has remained purely formal in the majority of cases for unprofitable enterprises. Yes, it is necessary to improve production and reduce the prime cost of output; but it is no less important to adjust the system of norms and eliminate distortions in pricing. Loss-making enterprises cannot be allowed to go on living on "sops" from the sector headquarters. The collective must itself earn the funds for its existence, otherwise it will have no incentive for further progress. This means that with the transition to the new working conditions, there must also be a fundamental change in the relationship between enterprises and ministries. The magic principle of "it must be so" which operated formerly does not accord with the new economic methods of leadership.

Economic accountability and self-financing must penetrate all components of management, including the apparatuses of ministries and departments, and they must be made to bear material responsibility for the planning decisions they adopt and approve. Many questions arise, for instance, from the established procedure for formulating state orders. Not infrequently this reaches 95 or even 100%, especially at the major enterprises which determine technical progress in the national economy. However the ministries and departments may explain this situation, this practice turns the state order into a directive plan and robs the enterprise of initiative and scope for economic maneuvering. Often these volumes are not backed up by the necessary resources.

Complexities arise from the fact that an enterprise now has to count every ruble—in buying equipment, obtaining resources, or resolving social problems—and in many cases to take on a bank loan. It is necessary to manage affairs with the utmost thrift and foresight, and then, of course, the advantages are great, given efficient, profitable work. Today the task of increasing the competence of cadres and mastering the new economic methods of leadership comes to the fore. This is all the more important because the transition to self-financing and full economic accountability is greatly complicated by the poor economic training of workers and even leaders.

The first steps in mastering the new methods of economic management have already been taken. Today it is important rapidly to accumulate experience of the new style of economic management. After all, the economic restructuring is not taking place in the name of fashion or for effect. It was brought forth, hard-won, in the course of many experiments, efforts, and reflections in recent years. The reform that has begun is the most profound and large-scale in the years of socialist building. Its ultimate goal is to achieve a substantial acceleration in the country's socioeconomic development. It is important for the results of the reform to be perceptible rapidly to Soviet people—both in production and in daily life.

Stroganov Interviewed on Gosplan Restructuring
LD311804 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1615 GMT 30 Dec 87

[Interview with Genrikh Borisovich Stroganov, deputy chairman of USSR Gosplan, by Lev Voznesenskiy on the "On the Road of Radical Reform" program, date, place not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [Stroganov] Gosplan is restructuring itself very seriously. Previously the structure of Gosplan's work was based on industrial sectors, that is, each department was in charge of its particular sector and was little concerned with its intersector interests, it fought for its own sector and so, you know, it was like a tug-of-war to see who would tug the hardest, who would get the most resources or means of production from the other. But today Gosplan itself has been restructured and as of 1 January we will also start to work in the new style. We are starting to work under conditions of a functional structure in the work of Gosplan, that is in science, accounting, composite departments, capital construction, scientific-technical progress, conservation of resources, material and technical supply, and so on. It should be said that this is not a mechanical switch.

Many functions that existed previously—and they were enshrined in Gosplan—have today simply dropped. That means Gosplan's work no longer boils down to petty patronage over each ministry and each enterprise. It is being removed from the solution of immediate questions. It is now targeting its work more on the long term, on determining rates and proportions, on determining all the tasks that have to be carried out on determining tasks facing science, on the implementation of scientific-technical programs, on the implementation of all party congress directives, as well as all the decisions of the Council of Ministers on various problems facing the national economy today.

So that the law on the state enterprise association works, the work of the ministries and departments especially had to be restructured, including even the standing bodies of the Council of Ministers. The huge amount of work was carried out by the Council of Ministers, Gosplan, Gosstab, economic bodies, and the Committee for Science and Technology. In Gosplan, an economic council has been created comprising all heads of central economic departments. This economic council has been created for the first time, and its task is to ensure the coordination of action in introducing the new economic mechanism, in drafting the plan and long-term concepts, so that everything will be mutually coordinated—prices, resources, production, construction, and so on.

It should be said that in Gosplan there is an actively working Commission for Perfecting the Economic Mechanism, Planning and Management of the National Economy. It is this commission that has the task of introducing and bringing to light all weak spots that

emerge as a result of the introduction of the new economic mechanism. Without such a body the work is simply impossible. So this is the main task of restructuring the activity of Gosplan's work. Efforts must be united by all of us, starting with each worker who must sense what he will get from introducing the new economic mechanism and become an active participant in it, an active conductor—that is the main thing.

PRAVDA Reports on Population's Savings
PM311455 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Dec 87
Second Edition p 6

[A. Sashin report: "In the Mirror of Statistics: Saved Rubles"]

[Text] There was a time when posters in the main streets of our cities and villages clamored: "Put your money in the savings bank. It is safe and advantageous!" "Save up and buy a car!" There are fewer such posters now. Judging by statistical information, they have done their job. The population's savings bank deposits totaled R257.4 billion on 1 December of this year. During the first 11 months of the current year alone they had increased by R14.6 billion.

Broken down by republic, the population's deposits present the following picture. At the moment, the largest sum of money has been deposited in savings books in the RSFSR—R146.4 billion, in the Ukraine R57.3 billion, in Belorussia R11.4 billion, in Kazakhstan R9.3 billion, in Georgia R5.4 billion, in Uzbekistan and Lithuania R5.3 billion each, and in Armenia R3 billion. Bringing up the rear on this list are Tajikistan and Turkmenia, where deposits total R1.5 billion and R1.1 billion respectively.

Are these statistics a cause for joy or sorrow? On the one hand, they are, unquestionably, a cause for joy because they reflect a rise in prosperity. On the other hand, they testify to the fact that people cannot buy everything they would like to in the shops. Incidentally, this is also borne out by other USSR State Committee for Statistics data concerning the fulfillment of the plan for retail turnover in January-November of the current year. The actual turnover in the country totaled R310.9 billion, or 96.5% of the plan. Only three union republics—Belorussia, Lithuania, and Estonia—met their targets. Georgia occupies last place in the statistical report.

Agricultural

'Critical' Seed Supply Situation Viewed
PM311537 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Dec 87
Morning Edition p 1

[V. Gavrichkin "Agricultural Review": "As You Sow..."]

[Text] "It is necessary, irrespective of conditions, not only to fulfill plans but to considerably exceed them in order to make up, as much as possible, the shortfall in output incurred in 1986-1987," a letter from the CPSU Central Committee to all agro-industrial complex labor collectives reads.

These words contain the very essence of the task set for agricultural workers: Irrespective of the weather, steadily to increase the output of produce, and especially of grain. As early as next year the gross output of grain is to be increased to 235 million tonnes and by the end of the 5-year plan the 250-255 million tonne mark is to be reached. This is not an easy task, of course, but it is feasible. The solution of this task is made possible by the use of intensive techniques.

Let us recall: This year in Krasnodar Kray, for instance, the entire winter wheat and barley area covering 1.3 million hectares was cultivated by means of intensive techniques. Yields totaled 40.1 quintals of grain per hectare.

In the Ukraine the fields cultivated by means of intensive techniques covered 3.5 million hectares each of which produced 43.2 quintals of grain. This is 14.4 quintals more than was obtained on fields cultivated by means of the usual techniques.

A breakthrough, in the literal sense of the word, toward high yields was achieved by Belorussian agricultural workers. Leading farms here obtained between 60-70 and more quintals of grain on average and on the Lenin Kolkhoz in Gomel Oblast the yield was simply unprecedented—105 quintals per hectare!

These results prove better that any words that the assimilation of intensive techniques is the high road to big yields. In the new year intensive techniques are to be used on almost one-third of our fields, including 21 million hectares of spring crops. Such a vast field means many concerns. The first among them is the concern for seeds. They are the basis of the harvest. Not for nothing do farmers say: As you sow, so you will reap.

Statistics indicate that farmers in the Ukraine, Belorussia, Kirghizia, and a number of other republics and oblasts have sufficient quantities of high-grade seeds. On kolkhozes and sovkhoses in the Ukraine, for instance, 84% of the seeds are rated to be of Class I sowing standard. Good seed work is currently under way on many farms in the North Caucasus and Central Chernozem regions of the RSFSR, and the Lithuanian and Moldavian SSR's.

Nonetheless, it cannot be ignored that virtually everywhere the quality of the seed stock is considerably below last year's standard. On many kolkhozes and sovkhoses of the RSFSR non-Chernozem Region, the Urals, Siberia, and the Transcaucasian republics the situation is simply critical.

The same explanation is given everywhere: The rainy fall made it impossible to lay in high-grade seeds. In Kustanay Oblast, for instance, farms have laid in less than half the seed stock needed for spring sowing, and what seed has been laid in is of low quality. Here too they are trying to blame the weather. But what about this example. E.

Shuller's team on the Novonezhinskiy Sovkhoz, working under contract with labor remuneration based on gross income, obtained average yields of 21 quintals of wheat per hectare and profits of more than R1.5 million from grain sales, and in addition it has provided the farm with almost its full requirement for high-quality seeds. This shows that the rains cannot be blamed for everything. The system of seed cultivation in Kustanay Oblast has simply failed the test. Unfortunately it happened not only in Kustanay Oblast.

Recently I heard Kurgan seed breeders complain with one voice, as it were:

"At one time seed breeding was quite well organized in our oblast. But then they set up the 'Elita' science-and-production association and that put an end to things. This association produces practically no seeds now. It particularly looks down on local strains such as the 'Vera', and the 'Kurganskaya-1' and 'Kurganskaya-2.' Even the seeds which farms get from the Baturinskoye experimental model farm, for instance, are more likely than not to bring a strain into discredit, to compromise it. We have specially tested these seed and the yields were 10 quintals below the norm."

A strange situation, don't you agree. An association capable of supplying highest quality seeds to meet the oblast's seed requirements has been set up and farms find themselves practically without seeds.

Yet one of the fundamental tasks of the science-and-production systems which are currently being set up throughout the country is above all to start up the production of high-yield strain seed material, reliably organize primary and elite seed breeding, and free it from its constant dependence on weather conditions. The new economic mechanism creates a good economic basis for this. However, judging by the situation which has developed in Kurgan Oblast, considerable efforts are still necessary to organize this matter properly.

Great efforts are also necessary at the moment to deliver the deficient quantities of seeds to kolkhozes and sovkhoses from state resources. Grain-reception enterprises have already prepared around 1.3 million tonnes of seed stock ready for dispatch. However, the exchange operations have still not gotten off the ground. In Kazakhstan, for instance, around 1 million tonnes of grain are to be transported—or almost one-third of the spring seed stock. Furthermore, large batches of this grain require additional cleansing and preparation. Yet by mid-December the republic and union agroproms had still not managed to settle the question and issue instructions to enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Grain Products to release the seeds.

So a situation has developed where seed is available but farms do not have it on hand. Urgent steps must be taken to rectify this situation. After all, the yields from every hectare will depend directly on the availability of high-grade seeds on every kolkhoz and sovkhos.

In short, much work remains to be done, and the situation is far from simple, as we can see. Therefore, analyzing the results of the year that is ending, it is necessary to try to get to the bottom of the "seed question." And not only from a short-term viewpoint. The seed breeding system must function reliably in any year.

Early December Weather, Crop Status Reported
PM311443 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian
24 Dec 87 p 2

[Agrometeorologist S. Malikova report: "Weather and Crops"]

[Text] In the greater part of the Central and Volga-Vyatka Regions and in the North and Northwest Regions a considerable part of the 10-day period was cold. The average air temperature here was from 3 to 6° lower than the perennial average. The winter grain crops and grasses were under snow, which was between 15-25 cm deep, and in places up to 40 cm deep. Despite heavy frosts the wintering of these crops went well.

In the rest of the USSR's European territory the weather was unstable. The average air temperature generally for the 10-day period was close to the perennial average. In the Baltic region, Belorussia, in the north Ukraine, in the Central Chernozem Region, in the southern half of the Volga Region, and also in Rostov Oblast and Stavropol Kray the depth of the snow cover was mainly 5-10 cm, and the depth of frozen soil was 10-20 cm. In Moldavia and the rest of the Ukraine there is no snow cover, the soil was frozen, but heavy frosts were not recorded.

In Krasnodar Kray the soil had thawed for the greater part of the 10-day period. On some days the winter grain crops and the perennial grasses resumed growth. The condition of the crops and their supply of moisture were good.

The weather was warmer than usual in the republics of the Transcaucasus for the greater part of the 10-day period. The average air temperature exceeded the perennial average by 2 to 4°. For the greater part of the 10-day period the winter grain crops grew with a good supply of moisture, while in Armenia they were dormant.

In the agricultural regions of Siberia and in Kazakhstan it grew warmer. The average air temperature for the 10-day period exceeded the perennial average by 5-12°. Thaws were recorded almost everywhere. But some nights the minimum air temperature in west Siberia and most of Kazakhstan was between minus 15 and minus 25°, and in east Siberia it was down to minus 35. There was precipitation everywhere. The winter grain crops and grasses had a snow cover of 15-35 cm, and the wintering of the winter crops and grasses went well.

In the Far East it was cold. On some nights there were 30-40° of frost. There was some precipitation almost everywhere. The snow cover was universal, at a depth mainly of 10-20 cm.

The warm weather persisted in the republics of Central Asia. The maximum air temperature was 15-25°. In the middle of the 10-day period a drop in temperature was recorded, and a number of regions registered precipitation. In Kirghizia the winter grain crops were dormant for the greater part of the 10-day period. In the rest of the territory the winter grain crops and grasses were growing. Their supply of moisture and their condition are good.

Media Report Developments for 26-31 December

LD010231 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 26-31 December. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

26 December

No fileworthy reports monitored.

27 December

No fileworthy reports monitored.

28 December

No fileworthy reports monitored.

29 December

In the Tajik SSR autumn plowing has been carried out to date on 24,000 hectares, or 94% of the area. (1200)

In Krasnodar Kray a new winter wheat variety called "Spartanka" that has been created at the Kuban Agricultural Scientific Research Institute. It is resistant to drought, flattening, and disease. Its yield in tests in Kirovograd Oblast exceeded 100 quintals per hectare. The varieties created by the Kuban scientists specifically for intensive technologies have made it possible to enhance the quality of the grain by about 7-10% and at the same time increase the yield. (Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530)

30 December

No fileworthy reports monitored.

31 December

No fileworthy reports monitored.

Scientific

Activities of 'Mir' Cosmonauts Reported

LD041200 Moscow TASS in English 1137 GMT
4 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—Soviet cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musav Manarov have begun their third week in orbit. In keeping with a plan of maintenance work on board the complex "Mir" ("Peace"), the crew today serviced the Elektron installation and checked one of the units of the on-board computer.

Under a programme of astrophysical research, the cosmonauts measured flows of high-energy electrons and positrons in near-earth space by using the Maria equipment.

The crew are to prepare for operation a technological installation, Korund, intended for production of semiconducting materials with improved properties in conditions of micro-gravity.

According to telemetry information and reports by the cosmonauts, the flight of the orbital complex "Mir" is proceeding normally.

Titov and Manarov are feeling fine.

1988 Space Exploration Plans Described

LD032335 Moscow in Serbo-Croatian to Yugoslavia
2000 GMT 3 Jan 88

[Text] In the Soviet Union 1988 will be a year of great space premieres. This is what our reporter was told at the Institute for Space Research. For instance, the realization of the large-scale Phobos project is planned to start in July. Two automatic stations will be launched in the direction of Mars. They will explore the planet and its satellite, Phobos. In addition, there are plans to launch an Astron-type satellite and a Gama-I space observatory. These instruments will carry out research into space radiation and processes in distant galaxies. Experts from many countries will take part in the realization of these projects. In the new year, the cosmonauts on the "Mir" orbital complex will continue their work and will be joined by Soviet and international crews.

Military

Conference of Military Tribunal Chairmen Held

PM301621 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
25 Dec 87 Second Edition p 3

[Colonel of Justice S. Morozov report: "To Strengthen Law and Order"]

[Text] A conference of military tribunal chairmen from military districts, groups of forces, and fleets has discussed key questions of restructuring the work of military judicial organs, further strengthening socialist legality, law and order, and military discipline, and stepping up protection of the legitimate rights and interests of servicemen, members of their families, workers, and employees of the Soviet Army and Navy.

The reports by Lieutenant General of Justice S. Maksimov, chief of the Military Tribunals Directorate, and Lt Gen of Justice G. Bushuyev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court's Military Collegium, analyzed the work of military tribunals in fulfilling decisions of the 27th party congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums, CPSU Central Committee resolutions on questions of strengthening socialist legality, and the USSR defense minister's demands for a fundamental improvement in discipline and law and order in the Army and the Navy. Attention was devoted to enhancing the professional standards of military tribunal judges and the quality of the administration of justice and to overcoming instances of violations of socialist legality and primarily instances of unjustified sentences and red tape in the examination of specific cases.

The conference devoted particular attention to the responsibility borne by military tribunal chairmen for organizing judicial work and enhancing its quality, the thorough study of judicial practice, propagandizing legal knowledge and explaining legislation, providing assistance to comrades' courts, and coordinating their activity with commands, political organs, and military prosecutors. Questions of improving the training of military tribunal cadres were also discussed.

Taking part in the conference's work were USSR Minister of Justice B. Kravtsov; Army Gen A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; V. Abolentsev, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Administrative Organs Department; and Lt Gen of Justice B. Popov, chief military prosecutor.